

Wathawurrung and the Colac language of southern Victoria

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

FOUNDING EDITOR: Stephen A. Wurm

EDITORIAL BOARD: Malcolm D. Ross and Darrell T. Tryon (Managing Editors),
Thomas E. Dutton, Andrew K. Pawley

Pacific Linguistics is a publisher specialising in linguistic descriptions, dictionaries, atlases and other material on languages of the Pacific, the Philippines, Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The authors and editors of Pacific Linguistics publications are drawn from a wide range of institutions around the world.

Pacific Linguistics is associated with the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University. Pacific Linguistics was established in 1963 through an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund. It is a non-profit-making body financed largely from the sales of its books to libraries and individuals throughout the world, with some assistance from the School.

The Editorial Board of Pacific Linguistics is made up of the academic staff of the School's Department of Linguistics. The Board also appoints a body of editorial advisors drawn from the international community of linguists. Publications in Series A, B and C and textbooks in Series D are refereed by scholars with relevant expertise who are normally not members of the editorial board.

To date Pacific Linguistics has published over 400 volumes in four series:

- Series A: Occasional Papers**; collections of shorter papers, usually on a single topic or area.
- Series B: Monographs** of intermediate length.
- Series C: Books**; publications of greater length, especially reference books such as dictionaries and grammars, and conference proceedings.
- Series D: Special Publications**; including archival materials, pedagogical works, maps, audiovisual productions, and materials that do not fit into the other series.

WATHAWURRUNG AND THE COLAC LANGUAGE OF SOUTHERN VICTORIA

**edited by
Barry J. Blake**



Pacific Linguistics

**Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra**

Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
PO Box 1428
Canberra ACT 2601
Australia

Copyright © The authors

First published 1998

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry:

Wathawurrung and the Colac language of southern Victoria.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 85883 498 7
ISSN 0078-7558

1. Aborigines, Australian - Victoria - Geelong Region - Languages. 2
Aborigines, Australian - Victoria - Ballarat Region - Languages. 3
Aborigines, Australian - Victoria - Colac Region - Languages. 4
Aborigines, Australian - Victoria - Languages. 5 Wada Wurung
language. 6. Gulidjan language. I. Blake, Barry J. II. Australian
National University. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.
Department of Linguistics. (Series: Pacific Linguistics. Series C-147).

499.15

Copedited by Basil Wilson, typeset by Sue Tys
Map work by Jenny Sheehan, The Cartography Unit, RSPAS, ANU
Printed by ANU Printing Service
Bound by F & M Perfect Bookbinding, Canberra

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	vi
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS	vii
CLASSIFYING VICTORIAN LANGUAGES	1-58
Barry J. Blake and Julie Reid	
Map 1: Approximate location of Victorian languages	58
WATHAWURRUNG: THE LANGUAGE OF THE GEELONG—BALLARAT AREA	59-154
Barry J. Blake, Ian Clark and Sharnthi H. Krishna-Pillay	
Map 2: Wathawurrung language area	154
THE COLAC LANGUAGE	155-177
Barry J. Blake, Ian Clark and Julie Reid	
Map 3: Gulidjan language area	177

PREFACE

The papers in this volume represent an activity that is becoming increasingly common: putting together scattered sources, mainly from the nineteenth century, on various Australian languages, particularly languages of south-eastern Australia. These languages are no longer spoken in anything like their full, original form and in many communities only a few words are remembered. However, more and more communities are becoming keen to revive and recover what they can of their linguistic heritage. The languages are recorded with various degrees of accuracy in many scattered papers and books of the nineteenth century. The early sources consist mainly of word lists, though for most languages there is some information on grammar. These lists are phonetically inaccurate, but if a number of writers record a particular word with various spellings, it is usually possible to work out what the pronunciation was. In this volume we have published the sources for Wathawurrung and the Colac language together with a suggested phonetic transcription.

The papers presented here have been put together by Barry Blake with contributions from Ian Clark, Sharnthi Krishna-Pillay and Julie Reid. We would like to thank R.M.W. (Bob) Dixon for providing us with a list of sources and allowing us access to his photocopies of these sources, and Gavan Breen and Luise Hercus for making extensive comments on the manuscript. A number of people supplied cognates from various Australian languages: Peter Austin, Nick Evans, Mark Harvey and Mary Laughren. We would also like to thank Jo Caffery for keying in the vocabularies and Barbara Upton for typing the remainder of the work. Special thanks are due to Neville Scarlett, who checked the flora entries and offered many helpful suggestions based on his knowledge of the flora of the area, the sources and the colonial usage of flora terms.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

GRAMMATICAL

ALL	allative
DIR	direct
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
EXC	exclusive (of the addressee)
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive (of the addressee)
IND	indirect
INTERROG	interrogative
LOC	locative
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PL	plural
POSS	possessor
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject
RECIP	reciprocal

LANGUAGES AND AREAS

B(ung)	Bunganditj
CV	The Central Victorian Language
Dhu	Dhudhuroa
Dja	Djadjawurrung
Gipps	The Gippsland Language
K	Kuurn Kopan Noot (dialect of The Warrnambool Language)
Le	Ledji-Ledji
Ma	Madhi-Madhi
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
P	Piangil
Pall	Pallanganmiddang
PW	Pik Wurrung
Q	Queensland
SA	South Australia
SH	Swan Hill
Tjap	Tjapwurrung
Thag(ung)	Thagungwurrung

WA	Western Australia
Wann	Wannon
Warr	Warmambool
Wath	Wathawurrung
WB	Wemba-Beraba
We	Wergaya
Wim	The Wimmera Language
Woi	Woiwurrung
WP	Wadi-Wadi (Piangil)
WS	Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill)
WV	The Western Victorian Language
WW	Wemba-Wemba
Yab	Yabula-Yabula
YY	Yota-Yota

ABBREVIATIONS FOR THE WATHAWURRUNG AND COLAC SOURCES OF DATA

b	Wedge
c	Curr
d	W. and A. Dennis
da	Davenport
das	Davenport sentences
e	Eyre version of Tuckfield
g	Griffith
l	Lloyd
LH	Luise Hercus
m	Mathew
mo	Morgan
mos	Mossman
NS	Neville Scarlett (identification of flora)
p	Porteous
pw	Parker's <i>Witouro</i> list
r	G.A. Robinson
rhM	R.H. Mathews
ri	material from Mrs Richards collected by R.H. Mathews
t	Tudehope
t1	Thomas: Ballarat (Tjapwurrung)
t2	Thomas: Bacchus Marsh
t3	Thomas: Melbourne
ts	Smyth's version of Tuckfield's <i>Woddowrong</i>
tu	(i) Cary's <i>Witouro</i> list (also spelled <i>Witowro</i>), included in the Tuckfield material, but reprinted from Parker
	(ii) Tuckfield's Colac material in Cary
tuc	Tuckfield's translation of the Commandments
tug	Tuckfield's translation of Genesis in Cary

tuh	Tuckfield's homily in Cary
tus	Tuckfield's sentences in Cary
tuw	Tuckfield's <i>Wo-dow-ro</i> material in Cary

CONVENTIONS

Words given in their original, mostly nineteenth-century, notation have been presented in italics, whereas words and affixes given in a phonetic transcription are shown in bold.

In the phonetic transcription, digraphs in **h** are used for dentals: **th** or **dh**, **nh** and **lh**. Palatals are represented as **tj** or **dj**, **ny** and **ly**, but in word-final position **yn** and **yl** are used. Retroflexes are represented by digraphs beginning with **r**: **rt** or **rd**, **rn** and **rl**. Capitals are used for laminals that can range over a dental or palatal realisation. Thus **TH** is used for a segment that could be **tj** or **th**; likewise **NH** covers **ny** and **nh**, and **LH** covers **ly** and **lh**.

SPELLING CONVENTIONS

Australian languages do not normally distinguish **p** and **b**, **t** and **d**, and **k** and **g**. We have used whichever letter was most prominent in our sources, but we have standardised with **p**, **t** and **k** in the comparative table.

Victorian languages seem not to have distinguished dentals (**th/dh**, **nh**, **lh**) from the corresponding palatals (**tj/dj**, **ny/yn**, **ly/yl**). We have used whatever the sources seem to indicate, though this can mean a word is spelled differently in different parts of this work.

LANGUAGE NAMES

The Aboriginal language names in Victoria usually cover a tongue spoken in a comparatively small area. It is usually the case that a number of tongues can be grouped together because of their similarity. These groupings have been given English names. The English names used in this work are as follows:

Western Victorian Language

This takes in the Madhi group of tongues (Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji, Wadi-Wadi), Wemba-Wemba, Beraba-Beraba, Djadjawurrung, the Wimmera Language and the Grampians Language. **Wemba-Wemba** refers to the material in Hercus (1986) and Hercus (1992), and the label **Wemba-Beraba** covers Wemba-Wemba and other closely related material from the early sources. The label **Wimmera Language** covers Wergaya as in Hercus (1986) plus closely related early sources, and the label **Grampians Language** covers Tjapwurrung, a tongue for which there is a large body of vocabulary, plus some other closely related sources.

Warmambool Language

This covers a group of closely related dialects from the Warmambool area. The name for this grouping adopted by the community is Keerraywoorroong. The western dialects stand somewhat apart and it has been convenient in presenting some of the tables to separate the Warmambool Language into Wannon (the western dialects) and Warmambool proper.

The Central Victorian Language

This covers Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung and Thagungwurrung.

Kulin

Kulin was used as a classificatory term by Schmidt (1919). As used here it covers the Western Victorian Language, the Central Victorian Language and Wathawurrung. Colac is probably a marginal member of the Kulin group.

CLASSIFYING VICTORIAN LANGUAGES

BARRY J. BLAKE AND JULIE REID

1. INTRODUCTION

The indigenous languages of Victoria are no longer spoken, and for information on what they were like we are reliant mainly on nineteenth-century materials. The only exception is Hercus (1986), which is based on fieldwork carried out among the last speakers in the 1960s and which consists of grammatical and lexical data on Wemba-Wemba, Wergaia and Madhi-Madhi, plus small vocabularies in several other languages.

At the present time Aboriginal people are beginning to show considerable interest in their linguistic heritage and a number of groups are learning what they can from the nineteenth-century records. However, these records can be difficult to interpret in terms of how they represent speech sounds and in terms of how they designate the language of particular groups. It is a pity that the colonisers were speakers of English, a language that lacks any consistent means of representing vowel sounds. If Australia had been taken over by speakers of practically any other language, we would not have the problems we do in interpreting the notation of vowels in the early sources. The main problem is with the letter ‘u’, which can represent the vowel of *put* or the vowel of *but*. Only where a form has been recorded by Hercus or where there are clear cognates in other accurately recorded languages can we determine the vowel.

With regard to the problem of which language the sources represent, it needs to be said that the sources bear one or more of the following designations: a ‘language’ name, a ‘tribe’ name or a location. For Victoria there are hundreds of sources that need to be identified and grouped.

Aboriginal language names in Victoria tend to be descriptive of the speech of a particular group. In northern Victoria, names are often reduplicated forms of the word for ‘no’. For example Ledji-Ledji designates people who used **ledji** as the word for ‘no’.¹ In southern and central Victoria names are often compounds in which the second element is a form of **tjalayn** ‘tongue’ or **wurru(ng)** ‘mouth/lips’. The language of the Hamilton area is

¹ The transcription is broad phonetic rather than strictly phonemic. Dentals are represented by digraphs with **h**: **th** or **dh** (the voicing not being phonemic) **nh** and **lh**. Retroflexes by digraphs with **r**: **rt** or **rd**, **rn** and **rl**. The palatal stop is represented by **tj** or **dj**, or by **yt** in syllable-final position. The palatal nasal is represented by **ny**, but by **yn** in syllable-final position. It is likely that palatals and dentals are not always phonemically distinct. Six vowels are used: **i**, **e**, **a**, **o**, **u** and **ə**, this last only in transcriptions from Hercus. It is not certain that all these distinctions are phonemic. A double **rr** represents a flap/trill and a single **r** a glide. Hercus is the only source to make the distinction. A capital **R** stands for an indeterminate rhotic.

Tjapwurrung where **tjap** or **tjaap** means 'soft' (Dawson 1881:2) and **wurrung** is used to mean language.

It is convenient to use the term 'tongue' for the entities that these Aboriginal names refer to. The main point of this is to avoid the dichotomy between language and dialect. A tongue could be a language or a dialect of a language. In some instances it is uncertain what the status of a source or group of sources is vis-à-vis the language/dialect distinction. It may be misleading to speak of a 'language' and insidious to use the term 'dialect' without specifying what language the source is a dialect of, since this echoes the pejorative sense of 'dialect' in popular usage where Aboriginal people have only 'dialects' never 'languages'.

In practice, tongues are usually small and relatively homogeneous, and when we compare tongues we find various degrees of similarity such that we would want to classify them into dialect groups, languages, language groups and so on. Although Aboriginal people were aware of various degrees of affinity between tongues they did not normally have names for any grouping of tongues. In classifying tongues we have in most instances used European geographical names as labels, labels such as Wimmera language, Central Victorian language, and so on.

The sources often bear labels designating groups of people and these names are often associated with the term 'tribe'. This term is problematic and the labels in the sources usually refer to an entity smaller than what one could reasonably call a tribe. They seem to refer in most cases to clans.

The method of grouping the sources with their mixture of 'language' names, 'tribe' names and placenames is essentially lexicostatistical. This means estimating the percentage of common vocabulary between various sources. At its crudest this technique does not distinguish between cognates and borrowings. This means that it may prove an unreliable guide to genetic affinity and an even less reliable guide to subgrouping, but it does provide an accurate synchronic guide to degrees of closeness, and presumably approximates to the degrees of affinity felt by the speakers themselves. In carrying out this classification we began by simply comparing the raw lexical data. We found it difficult even with experience to distinguish borrowings from cognates, but we did find that we had to revise our initial counts on discovering that a few sources seemed to mix words from more than one tongue. We also took into account grammatical forms: pronouns, interrogative words, tense/aspect suffixes, etc. These undoubtedly give a better guide to genetic affinity than do ordinary lexical items, but in practice we did not find much reason to revise our classification in light of cognate function forms. We have also looked for common innovations as a guide to subgrouping, but subgrouping is fraught with difficulty. Some suggestions can be found in the following sections.

2. THE CLASSIFICATION

This classification is based on unpublished work by R.M.W. Dixon (see also Dixon et al. forthcoming) and differs from his classification mainly in that it elaborates it, illustrates it and incorporates some previously undiscovered sources.

All the languages of the Australian mainland, save for most of those found in the Kimberleys and the Top End, belong to the Pama-Nyungan family, where ‘family’ is to be understood as a lexicostatistical concept (O’Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966). All the languages dealt with in this paper share vocabulary with other languages of southern Australia and can be taken to fall within Pama-Nyungan.

The classification recognises eleven groupings, alternatively eleven languages, but in some cases we have data on only one dialect of a language. Pallanganmiddang is in this category. We have three short vocabularies, which agree very well. They probably represent a single dialect of a language, but since we have no other data, Pallanganmiddang emerges in our classification as a separate language. The eleven languages are as follows:

Western Victoria

A single language covered most of western Victoria from just north of the Murray to Hamilton in the south.

Bunganditj

This language was spoken in the far southwestern corner of Victoria and in the southeastern area of South Australia.

Warrnambool

The Warrnambool language was spoken in the Warrnambool area from the Glenelg in the west to the Hopkins in the east, probably as far east as Airey’s inlet.

Colac

The Colac language was spoken over a comparatively small area around Colac.

Wathawurrung

This language was spoken along the coast from Airey’s inlet to the Werribee River and extended inland to Ballarat and Beaufort.

Central Victoria

A single language was spoken from Westernport Bay in the south nearly to Echuca in the north. There were two main dialects, Woiewurrung south of the Great Dividing Range and Thagungwurrung to the north.

Yota-Yota

Yota-Yota was spoken in an area extending east from Echuca along the Murray Valley towards Tocumwal and south towards Shepparton in Victoria.

Yabula-Yabula

Yabula-Yabula was spoken in the Murray Valley to the north of Yota-Yota.

Dhudhuroa

Dhudhuroa was spoken on the Upper Murray from Albury to Jingellic and on the Mitta-Mitta and Kiewa rivers.

Pallanganmiddang

The exact location of Pallanganmiddang is obscure, but it was probably spoken to the south of Wodonga.

Gippsland

One language was spoken over the whole of Gippsland. No study of this language has been undertaken by the authors. The references here are from Fesl (1985) and Hercus (1986).

The present work does not cover some languages from the borders of Victoria, Yitha-Yitha and Dardi-Dardi in the north-west, Bidawal in the east and Ngarigu in the north-east (see Map 1). These are sharply differentiated from any of the eleven languages that are included in the present paper.

Table 1 gives percentages of common vocabulary between these languages. All counts are based on at least 100 words of common vocabulary, except those involving Yabula-Yabula, where the sources are scanty. As can be seen, all the proposed languages are quite separate, with no two sharing over 50%.

TABLE 1: VICTORIA: PERCENTAGES OF COMMON VOCABULARY

	WV	Bung	Warr	Col	Wath	CV	YY	Yab	Dhu	Pall	Gipps
West Vic	-	31	42	31	44	41	15	23	22	20	16
Bunganditj	-	-	35	20	17	23	15	11	11	10	10
Warrnam	-	-	-	23	26	30	12	16	10	14	18
Colac	-	-	-	-	34	32	17	11	19	20	19
Watha	-	-	-	-	-	46	15	15	14	16	18
Central V	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	15	20	22	27
Yota	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	18	27	20
Yabula	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	20	14
Dhudhu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	13
Pallang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
Gippsland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

3. NOTES ON THE LANGUAGES

3.1 WESTERN VICTORIA

This is a kind of mega-language that covered an extensive area in western Victoria from north of the Murray to Hamilton and nearly to Ballarat in the south. Within this language it is possible to distinguish a number of different tongues. The list comprises Wemba-Beraba, Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji, Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill), Wadi-Wadi (Piangil), the Wimmera language (Wergaya), the Grampians Language (Tjapwurrung) and Djadjawurrung. Table 2 gives percentages of common vocabulary for these groupings of sources. The figures are based on at least 100 comparisons except those involving Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Piangil).

TABLE 2: WESTERN VICTORIA: PERCENTAGES OF COMMON VOCABULARY

	WB	Ma	Le	WS	WP	Wim	Tjap	Dja
Wemba-Beraba	-	70	72	75	60	86	82	72
Madhi-Madhi	-	-	81	81	66	75	66	62
Ledji-Ledji	-	-	-	83	57	77	68	57
Wadi(Swan Hill)	-	-	-	-	64	81	71	65
Wadi(Piangil)	-	-	-	-	-	54	54	54
Wimmera	-	-	-	-	-	-	87	70
Tjapwurrung	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	81
Djadjawurrung	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

3.1.1 DJADJAWURRUNG

Djadjawurrung is the easternmost dialect of this language and, as the figures indicate, it is quite distinct from the other dialects except for its neighbour to the west, the Grampians Language, where the main source is Tjapwurrung. It is marked by a number of distinctive words including the following: **ngilamun** ‘baby’, **nguRi** ‘big’, **pum-pum** ‘egg’, **poy**n ‘grass’, **yonong** ‘hill’, **wanhimuk** ‘small’, **wanyaRam** ‘water’ and **tuR(o)i** ‘woman’.

3.1.2 THE MADHI GROUP

Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) share over 80% of vocabulary with one another, which suggests that they might form some kind of group. They also share distinctive forms for first person (**yiti/yeti**), first person possessor (**-(ng)ai**) and third person possessor (**-u**). There are two tongues that bear the name Wadi-Wadi, one centred around Swan Hill and the other around Piangil, so we have designated them accordingly. Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) stands somewhat apart from all the other tongues of the Western Victorian language, though it scores better with Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) on average than with other tongues. It is clear, however, that it should be grouped with Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) since it shares with these three tongues the **-u** form for third person possessor and an **-i** suffix for the nominative. For instance, the word for ‘star’ is **turti** in Madhi, Ledji and the two Wadi tongues, but **turt** in the other tongues of the Western Victorian language and also in Wathawurrung and the Central Victorian language (see also §3.6). There are also a few lexical items that link these four tongues: **thinti**, **tjantji**, **tjantji**, **tjanthi** ‘nose’ (**kaarr** in other Western Victorian tongues), **karni/kanyi** ‘snake’ (**kurnmil** or **kurnwil** in others) and **maaki/maatji** ‘stone’ in Ledji and the two Wadi tongues (**laarr** or **kutjap** in other tongues; **kutjap** also occurs in Madhi). We will refer to these four tongues as ‘the Madhi group’, taking the name from the best recorded tongue of the four.

Madhi-Madhi is unusual in not having the main stress on the initial syllable as in most other Australian languages. Many polysyllabic stems take primary stress on the second syllable (Hercus 1986:115ff.). The conditioning of stress has excited a good deal of interest among phonologists. See Goedemans (1997) for an analysis and references to earlier treatments.

3.1.3 CORE WESTERN

The remaining groupings of sources are very similar to one another and represent what we might think of as the core of the Western Language. Wemba-Beraba, the Wimmera language and Tjapwurrung all share over 80% of vocabulary and one might wonder if they should be distinguished at all, bearing in mind that particular sources rarely score much over 80% with one another. However, there are criterial words that serve to differentiate these three groupings. They are as follows.

Wemba-Beraba and the Wimmera language can be distinguished by certain words such as the following:

	<i>Wemba-Beraba</i>	<i>Wimmera</i>
(1) pelican	ninangkuR	patjingal
mosquito	liri	kiRk-kiRk
fire	wanap	wanyap
tomahawk	t(h)irr	patjik
kangaroo rat	parre	tjaleka²
stone	la(rr)	kutjap³

The Wimmera language and Tjapwurrung can be distinguished by the following criterial words:

	<i>Wimmera</i>	<i>Tjapwurrung</i>
(2) elbow	ngu(n)yuk	palutj
fire	wanyap	wi (widespread in NSW and Victoria)
moon	mitjiin	yirn
small	pa(r)n	watjip, wartip (also = 'young')
swim	tjipa,⁴ wirraka	yawa
woman	layurrk	paynpaynku
speak	kiya, wurreka	wuReka

3.2 KULIN

Table 1 reveals that Western Victoria, Central Victoria and Wathawurrung share nearly 50% of vocabulary. These figures are based on Tjapwurrung for Western Victoria and Woiwurrung for Central Victoria. We refer to these three languages collectively as the **Kulin** languages, adapting the term used by Schmidt (1919). The shared vocabulary includes a numbers of words that are exclusive to these three languages within Victoria. The starred items in (3) are shared between Western Victoria and Central Victoria but not found in Wathawurrung.

² Animal names are not ideal for this kind of comparison since names for different species may have been recorded.

³ Hercus (pers.com.) points out that **kuthap** occurs in Wemba-Wemba referring to a large stone. See also Hercus (1992).

⁴ **Tjipa** means 'float', but is also recorded for 'swim'.

(3)	muRun	alive	miTHiin*	moon
	THaTHak	arm	larn/tarn*	rib
	kalk*	bone ⁵	purt	smoke
	paNHul	hill	liang	tooth
	tjilpa	hit	kurn-	snake
	kuRng*	kookaburra	paRing*	track, path
	kuli(yn)	man	wuRk-	black

At least some of these words are relics rather than innovations. The root **muRun** ‘alive’ is found in a number of languages from New South Wales; **kalk** would appear to be cognate with **kalka** ‘spear’ found in several Queensland languages; **kuli(yn)** may be cognate with various forms such as **kuRi** found along the north coast of NSW, and **liyang** ‘tooth’ is probably cognate with widespread forms such as **liRa** and **diRa**.

If we turn to grammatical forms to investigate the nature of the relationship between these three languages, we come up against a curious phenomenon with the pronouns. Over most of the area, excluding the far north, pronouns consist of pronominal forms for person and number attached to a common base. In Djadjawurrung, for instance, the singular pronouns are as follows:

- (4)
1. **beng-ek**⁶
 2. **beng-in**
 3. **beng-uk**

These are literally ‘my person’ or ‘my body’, ‘your person/body’ and ‘his/her person/body’. The root that is chosen to serve as a base for the pronouns is no guide to genetic relationship. Closely related tongues often differ with respect to the pronoun base, and quite different tongues may share the same base. The base **beng** shown in (4) above is also found in Wathawurrung. Table 4 illustrates the first and second person pronoun forms found in the sources for Western Victoria, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria (Table 3 and subsequent tables appear at the end of the text). However, although the pronoun bases are no guide to genetic relationship, we can use the bound pronouns, both the possessor forms and the subject forms, as a guide to genetic relatedness. Leaving aside the Madhi group, which do not appear to have had bound pronouns for subject, we can say that Western Victoria, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria share the following subject forms, which are exclusive to these three languages in Victoria:

- (5)
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| subject singular | 1. -an (-anda in Wemba-Beraba) |
| | 2. -arr |

With possessor forms, which are displayed in (6), we need to recognise that the Madhi group has separate forms from the rest of Western Victoria. The form **-(ng)ek/- (ng)ik** and the form **-uk** are exclusive to the Kulin languages, but **-(ng)in** is widespread.⁷

⁵ **Kalk** is found in Wathawurrung with the meaning ‘wood’, ‘stick’. In this sense it is found in other Kulin tongues and elsewhere.

⁶ Mathews records *bang*. Luise Hercus informs us that in languages where she has heard this word it is pronounced [bɛŋ].

- (6) possessor singular 1. **-(ng)ek/- (ng)ik** (Madhi group **-(ng)ai**)
 2. **-(ng)in** (Madhi group **-(ng)in**)
 3. **-(nh)uk** (Madhi group **-(nh)u** and Woiwurrung **-u**)

We might also note in this context that there are some bound forms coextensive with the tongues of Western Victoria, namely **-ang** (dual exclusive) and **-nguR** (first person plural inclusive). The pronoun forms are shown in Tables 5 and 6.

Case markers are of little help in sorting out genetic relatedness, partly because our sources are defective and we do not have tokens of the full range of markers, and partly because case marking is quite variable from language to language anyway. What forms we could glean are in Table 3.

With verbs, a future marker with a laminal nasal defines the Kulin languages. Our data is mainly from Hercus (1986) and from the sketch grammars of R.H. Mathews, who usually reports a past, present and future tense:

(7)		present	past	future
	<i>Western Victoria</i>	-a	-in	-iyn
	<i>Wathawurrung</i>		-ik	-iyn
	<i>Woiwurrung</i>	-unh	-a(dh)	-anh

A form that is common to Western and Central Victoria is the reciprocal marker **-tjarra/-tjerra** in Western Victoria and **-tjeRi** in Central Victoria. Wathawurrung has both forms and a third form **-kiRi**, which may be related.⁸

The 'having' suffix **-mil** is found in Central Victoria, Wathawurrung (marginally) and the Western Language, but only in Djadjawurrung, Tjapwurrung and the Wimmera language. Wemba-Beraba and the Madhi group have a 'having' suffix **-wil**, which co-occurs with **-mil** in the Wimmera language.

Some of the distinctive pronominal forms are likely to be innovations and point to subgrouping, but the future marker with the laminal nasal is likely to be a relic. A future tense marker **:yn** is found in Bandjalang (neNSW, seQ, Crowley 1978:94ff), but more tellingly the following opposition is found in Thangatti (neNSW, Holmer 1966:75ff),

- (8) present/past punctual **-in**
 future **-liyn**

At least one verb in Thangatti has a future in **-iyn** and on comparative grounds the **-l-** is likely to be a separate formative, so the parallel between Thangatti and the Kulin languages is very close.

⁷ It is possible that **-ngek/-ngik** derives from ***ngaki** with an assimilatory raising of the first vowel and a subsequent loss of the second vowel. It is also possible that it derives from ***ngatj** with the palatal raising the vowel, as is normal, and the final palatal subsequently becoming a velar. Such a development is sporadically attested in various languages of Victoria; see, for instance, the entries for 'two', 'kangaroo rat' and 'hungry' (Yota-Yota) in the comparative table in the appendix. Note also the two forms of the name of the language of southwestern Victoria: **Buwandik/Bunganditj**. Forms such as **ngatjV** are found among Pama-Nyungan languages.

⁸ Conceivably an alternative notation hearing a fronted **k** rather than **tj**.

Hercus (1992:1-5), following Schmidt (1919), uses the term **western Kulin** to cover what is here called Western Victoria and Wathawurrung. She divides western Kulin into three groups: the Wergaya group, the Wembawemba group and the Mathimathi group. The Mathimathi group corresponds to our Madhi group. The Wembawemba group takes in Wemba-Wemba, Beraba-Beraba and Nari-Nari. Nari-Nari (see Map 1) is not included in our comparative table since the data is so scanty. What is known can be found in Hercus (1986:152-158). The Wergaya group takes in all the other western Kulin tongues. The difference between the Hercus classification and ours stems from the fact that ours is basically lexicostatistical, whereas Hercus uses other criteria such as the use of a common base for all the persons and numbers of the pronouns, as illustrated in (4) above.

3.3 BUNGANDITJ AND THE WARRNAMBOOL LANGUAGE

Bunganditj was spoken in the far southwestern corner of Victoria and in the southeastern area of South Australia. Smith (1880:ix) mentions five tribes each with its own dialect, but our sources cannot be differentiated into dialects on lexicostatistical grounds, though it is possible to distinguish a northern dialect from a southern one on the basis of a few lexical differences such as **kukuR/kamaR** 'blood', **pap/ngati** 'mother' and **kan-/lu** 'mouth'. The name **Bunganditj** and the alternative **Buwandik** strictly refer to a single tongue spoken in the Mount Gambier area.

Bunganditj is clearly differentiated from the Western Victorian language; it shares only 31% with Tjapwurrung, for instance, the nearest dialect of the Western language for which we have data, and much the same figure with the other dialects. The shared vocabulary consists largely of widespread forms such as **thina(ng)** 'foot'.

Bunganditj shares a little under 40% of vocabulary with the Warrnambool language, 38% with Wannon, the westernmost dialect of the Warrnambool language, and 35% with the major sources for the other dialects, Dawson's *Kuurn kopan noot* and *Peek whurrong*. These figures are high enough to suggest that Bunganditj and the Warrnambool language might be relatively close genetically. The two languages share a number of lexical items that are not found in the immediately surrounding languages. These include **wu(Rk)** 'arm', **wila(n)** 'black cockatoo', **thatha** 'to drink', **thaliyn** 'elbow', **kapiR(ng)** 'emu' (**kawirr** in Western Victoria), **paRayt** 'girl', **puthu(ng)** 'grass' (**puaTH** in Western and Central Victoria), **miriit/miRing** 'ground', **maRa** 'hand', **wanga** 'hear', **kapu(ng)** 'nose',⁹ **kuRamuk** 'possum', **yiyiR** 'rib', **wul** 'shadow', **murn** 'skin', **kuRang** 'snake', **la(ka)** 'speak', **maRi** 'stone', **partpartkurt** 'tomahawk', **yanta** 'throw', **thanga(ng)** 'tooth', **paRi(tj)** 'water' and **mala(ng)** 'wife'.

The Warrnambool language shares 42% of vocabulary with Western Victoria, which raises the question of whether it should be grouped with Western Victoria. However, there is not the same sharing of function forms that we find between Western Victoria, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria. On the other hand if we count function forms across Bunganditj and Warrnambool, we find the two languages share 19 out of 37 such forms.

⁹ Similar forms are found in the Murray languages from northwestern Victoria to the Murray mouth (Hercus pers.com.). See also Hercus (1989:56).

The shared forms include widespread ones such as **ngal-** ‘first person dual’, which is common throughout the Pama-Nyungan languages, and other relatively distinctive forms such as the following:

		<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>
(9)	case markers	ergative	-a
		genitive	-ngat
		dative	-o
	pronouns	I	ngathuk
		we (du inc)	ngathuwal
		we (du exc)	ngathuwilal
		we (pl inc)	ngathuwe
		we (pl exc)	ngathuwile
		my	ngathangat/ ngathowat
	possessor suffixes	my	-(ng)ayn
		your	-(ng)un
		his/her	-(n)ung
	tense		-nyung, -yung
		past	-an

On the basis of these shared function forms, which are not found in the Western Victorian language, nor in Wathawurrung nor in the Central Victorian Language, we can say that Bunganditj and the Warrnambool language are relatively closely related. As explained above, such a statement does not imply that they should be subgrouped. The shared forms may be relic forms. With the shared vocabulary it is clear that some of the forms listed above are relics. The form **maRa** ‘hand’ is widespread in Australia, but it is not found in other languages of western Victoria.

3.4 COLAC

Common vocabulary does not give a clear identification of the affiliation of the Colac language. As can be seen from Table 1, it scores 23% with the Warrnambool language to the west and 34% with Wathawurrung to the north and east. Interestingly it scores over 30% with non-contiguous Kulin tongues: 31% with Tjapwurrong and 32% with Woiwurrung. There is practically no grammatical data available, but the following pronouns are recorded (with some adjustment of the glosses).

		nominative	genitive
(10)	I	ngathuit	ngathangit
	we two	ngathula	ngathangula
	1st person ?	ngathangoRok	ngathangangoRok
	1st person inc ?	ngathunginak	

The first formative in these pronouns, **nga-**, is of no use, since it is practically ubiquitous within Australia. The second formative in **nga-thu-it** resembles the second formative in Bunganditj and Warrnambool **ngathuk**, but it must be remembered that **-thu**, which ultimately reflects an ergative marker **-*THu**, is a widespread formative in first person pronouns. However, it should be noted that the first person non-singular forms are built on

the form **ngathu**: **ngathula** ‘we two’, **ngathunginak** ‘we’ and possibly **ngathangoRok** ‘we’ (the exact glosses cannot be determined with certainty). This is an unusual method of formation and significantly it is one shared with Bunganditj and the Warrnambool Language.¹⁰ However, it is difficult to assess the significance of this sharing, since we do not have ‘old’ free pronouns for many of the Kulin tongues. It may be that this method of formation was shared with the Kulin languages.

Most of the crumbs of evidence we find with pronouns point to a connection with Kulin tongues. The genitive of three pronoun forms is clearly formed with **-ang**, which matches **-ang-** in the Wimmera language (see Table 6 and following). The form **ngathangoRok** looks as if it contains **-anguR-**, the bound form for first person plural inclusive in Wemba-Beraba (see entries for Wemba-Wemba and Burraba-Burraba in Table 8).

In Tuckfield’s translation of the Lord’s Prayer *nere-ngen* is ‘thy name’ (also in his Wathawurrung translation), so **-ngin** would appear to be the form for second person singular possessor as in the Kulin languages.

Tuckfield records *malankaugnek* for ‘my aunt’. This appears to be **malankau-ngek** or **malankaung-ek** where **-ngek** or **-ek** is the form for first person possessor in the Kulin languages.

A number of body-part terms are recorded with the suffix **-gnenok**, which we transcribe as **-nyinuk** (or possibly **-nginuk**). This is obviously a third person possessor form and its appearance in word lists matches the distribution of **-u** in the Madhi group and in Woiwurrung, **-uk** in the other Western tongues and **-atnin** in the Warrnambool language. A number of compound body-part terms also contain **nyinuk** as in **lirri nyenuk ma** ‘fingernail’ where **lirri** is ‘nail’ and **ma** ‘hand’. This expression is probably literally ‘nail-its hand’. The form **-nyinuk** is likely to consist of a third person root plus a genitive marker. There is a widespread third person singular root in Pama-Nyungan with the form **nyu** or **nhu**. The match in form between **-uk** and Western and Wathawurrung **-uk** would appear to be significant.

The Colac vocabulary contains a large number of words recorded only in this language (e.g. **puteRong** ‘baby’, **thaRong** ‘man’ and **part-part** ‘moon’) plus a few words reflected in non-contiguous languages which must be relics, e.g. **pirri** ‘breast’, which is found in north-eastern Victoria (Pallanganmiddang and Dhudhuroa) and New South Wales (Wiradhuri), **putjung** ‘egg’, which has likely cognates in northern Victoria (Yota-Yota), north-eastern Victoria (Pallanganmiddang) and eastern Victoria (the Gippsland Language), and **pun** ‘knee’, which is shared with Wathawurrung and the Gippsland Language, and has distant cognates in other parts of Australia. Most of the words that it shares with the Warrnambool language, the Western language, Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung are widespread items such as **mama** ‘father’. Where Colac shares words that are not so widespread, it tends to share them with Wathawurrung. The most significant point about the vocabulary scores is the fact that Colac scores almost as well with non-contiguous Kulin tongues as it does with Wathawurrung. This, along with most of what can be gleaned

¹⁰ We are indebted to Cathrine Koukmenides for pointing this out to us.

from the pronouns, points to Colac belonging with Kulin, albeit as a rather marginal member of the grouping.

3.5 YOTA-YOTA AND YABULA-YABULA

Of the remaining languages only Yota-Yota and Yabula-Yabula score a figure that suggests a closer than average genetic connection. The figure of 37% in Table 1 represents 27 matches out of 73 comparisons. Of these 27, ten were widespread forms such as **tjina** 'foot' and **yan-** 'go', four were part of a discontinuous pattern (see §3.7 below) and must be considered relics, two had an areal distribution, and the remaining ten were exclusive to Yota-Yota and Yabula-Yabula and were basic items of vocabulary rather than fauna, flora and cultural items, all of which categories are easily borrowed. This suggests some genetic tie above the base level for two Pama-Nyungan languages.

A consideration of the pronouns tends to confirm this. Most of the data is from R.H. Mathews, who may have mixed Yota-Yota forms with Yabula-Yabula ones in his published account of the latter, so only manuscript forms in Yabula-Yabula are presented here.

	<i>Yota-Yota</i>	<i>Yabula</i>
(11) I (nominative)	nga(ya)	ngaya
I (genitive)	ngini	ngini
I (ergative)	ngatha	ngatha
you (nominative)	ngina	ngina
you (genitive)	nguni	nguni
you (ergative)	nyana	nyana

There are further matches in the non-singular including a series of ergative forms marked with **-k**. Even allowing that we are dealing with widespread forms including Wemba-Wemba **-(k)u**, the matches in details are *prima facie* evidence for the two languages being genetically related.

If we look at case markers, we find a match with an ergative marker **-k** and with an ablative **-in**, but overall the case markers do not match closely. With verbs there may be a match between Yota-Yota **-n** (non-future) and Yabula-Yabula **-(a)n** (past), but several markers do not match. We suggest that there is a closer genetic connection between these two languages than between any other pair in northern or eastern Victoria. The ten matches in basic vocabulary suggest this and the matches in pronoun forms lend further support.

3.6 SOUND CHANGES

3.6.1 VELAR AUGMENT

In the Madhi group, the Warrnambool language and the Central Victorian language, a number of nouns that appear in Wemba-Beraba and other languages with a final vowel have a final velar nasal augment. For instance, the word for 'tooth' is **lia** in Wemba-Beraba, but **liang** in Central Victoria.

In the Madhi group a large number of nouns with a final consonant take an *-i* in the nominative. For instance, **turt**, which is the word for 'star' in Central Victoria and the rest of Western Victoria, appears as **turti** in the Madhi group. This *-i* is also found with words that take the velar nasal augment, so the word for 'tooth' in the Madhi group is **liangi**.

The reason for calling the velar nasal in question an augment is that it is opposed to velar nasals that occur not only in the Madhi group, the Warrnambool language and the central Victorian language, but in other languages such as Wemba-Beraba. See the last three entries in (12).

		<i>Madhi gr.</i> ¹¹	<i>Wemba</i>	<i>Warrnam</i> ¹²	<i>Bung</i>	<i>Woiwurrung</i>
(12)	tooth	liangi	lia	thangang	thanga	liang
	foot	thinangi	tjina	thinang	thina	tjinang
	hand	manhang	manya	maRang	maRa	marnang
	louse	munhungi	munya	-	murna	munhong
	mouth	wuRu(ngi) (W)	wurru	wuRung	-	wuRu(ng)
	faeces	kunang(i)	kuna	kunang	kuna	kurnang
	grass	poatj(i) (L)	poatj	puthong	puthu	poatj
	nose	-	-	kapung	kapu	kang
	wife	-	-	malang	mala	-
	track	*	paring	*	*	paRing
	knee	patheng(i) (M)	pathing	paRayn	paRayn	paRing
	tongue	thalingi	tjaling	thalayn	tjali	tjalang

* See entries for 'foot'.

The word for 'tongue' is **thalayn** in the Warrnambool language and the laminal nasal is found elsewhere in Australia. The word for 'knee' also appears with a final laminal in the Warrnambool language: **paRayn** (the **th/tj-R** correspondences are dealt with in §3.6.2 below).

It seems that the velar nasal augment is found only on nouns of one or two syllables, but monosyllabic nouns appear to have had a long vowel, at least phonetically, so one could say the velar nasal is found only on stems of two vowel morae. The velar nasal seems to be another example of a phenomenon referred to by Hale in a well-known paper on the origin of the ergative and locative suffix alternants (Hale 1976:416). Hale mentions that Uradhi and Wik Me'nh (Cape York, Q) and some dialects of Anmatjera (Arandic, NT) have a velar nasal augment on words that were originally vowel-final stems. In Anmatjera the augment is found only with disyllabic stems. It would seem that in Victoria a similar process occurred. It is worth noting that the process is reflected only on nouns and that most of the examples are from basic vocabulary. It should also be noted that in Central Victoria and in the Warrnambool language there are very few vowel-final nouns. It seems that the

¹¹ Although in most Australian languages the stress is on the first syllable, in Madi-Madi, and possibly in other languages of the group, the stress was on the second syllable in words of three or more syllables except where the second syllable began with a labial or velar. Thus a word like **thinangi** bore the stress on the second syllable (see Hercus 1986:115ff.).

¹² *Warrnambool* here includes *Wannon* as shown in the Comparative Table.

languages went through a period of making all nouns, or at least all disyllabic nouns, consonant-final. Subsequently there may have been some borrowing from vowel-final languages.

In the Melbourne language the velar nasal appears to have been optional on some words such as **wuRu** 'mouth', 'lips' and 'language' (and on language names built on **wuRu** such as **WoiwuRu(ng)**), **kurna(ng)** 'faeces' and **tuRu(ng)** 'heart'. A few words such as **yaRa** 'hair' are disyllabic and are recorded only with a final vowel.

There are some instances of words with a final rhotic taking the velar nasal augment. In the Madhi group the glide **r** is lost except in Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill).

	<i>Madhi gr.</i>	<i>Wemba</i>	<i>Warrnam</i>	<i>Bung</i>	<i>Woiwurrung</i>
(13) camp	langi	lar	-	-	-
eye	mingi(Ledji)	mir	miRng	-	miRng
ear	wi-mpula	wiri-mpula	wiRng	-	wiRng
stone	-	la(rr)	-	-	lang*
emu	-	-	kapiRng	kapiR	-
nose	-	karr	-	-	kang*

*These words may contain a rhotic: **laRng?**, **kaRng?**

It would be interesting to know whether the velar nasal augment is dropped before suffixes. Nouns take number and case marking or pronominal forms marking the person and number of the possessor. Unfortunately information on this point is skimpy. In Woiwurrung the velar nasal is retained before the third person singular possessor form **-u**, so 'his/her hand' is **marnang-u**.

In the Madhi-Madhi the ergative is **-ku** after vowel stems and **-u** after consonants, but nouns with the velar nasal are treated like consonant stems, i.e. the velar nasal is retained. Thus the word for 'man' is **wuthungi** in the nominative with both augments and **wuthungu** in the ergative. However, the velar nasal does not appear with the other case forms. The word **wuthu**, for instance, is treated like a vowel stem in the ablative etc. and takes the allomorph with an initial **k** that is appropriate for vowel-final stems: **wuthukunga** 'from the man' (after Hercus 1986:119). With possessor suffixes the velar nasal is not retained. Hercus (1986:124) gives **ngapungi** 'grandmother' and **ngapu-nhu** 'his/her grandmother'.

R.H. Mathews collected grammatical information on *Wamba-Wamba* and *Bura-Bura*. This material can be identified with what we are calling Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill). The relevant point is that the material relates to the Madhi group. Mathews gives the following case forms for the word for 'man': nominative: **wurtungi**, ergative: **wurtulu** and **wurtuli**, genitive: **wurtua**. Clearly the velar nasal is not retained when a case marker is added.

In Woiwurrung the word for a club with a 'tooth' on one end is **liangayil** (cf. **liang** 'tooth') where the velar nasal is retained before a derivational suffix, presumably a suffix meaning 'having'.¹³

¹³ The phonetic form given here is based on G.A. Robinson who gives *lee-eng-ile* and *lee-ung-ile*.

Where the velar nasal fails to appear before a suffix, this is confirmation that it is an augment. Where it is retained, this suggests reanalysis.

3.6.2 SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

An intervocalic laminal stop in Tjapwurrung, Wimmera, Madhi and Wemba-Beraba corresponds to **rt** in Ledji-Ledji, Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) and Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) and to an undetermined rhotic in Djadjawurrung, Wathawurrung, Central Victoria, Warmnambool and Bunganditj.

(14)	tj	rt	R
<i>arm</i>	thatjak Tjap	thartak(i) WS	thaRak D
<i>a fly</i>	pitjik Tjap	pirti WS	piRik D

Other examples can be found in the Comparative Table. See, for instance, the entries for *bad*, *broлга* and *feather*.

An intervocalic palatal nasal in Tjapwurrung and some Wimmera sources corresponds to an apical nasal in other Kulin tongues, Warmnambool and Bunganditj. At least some of these apicals are retroflex, but it is difficult to tell from the sources.

(15)	ny	(r)n
<i>fire</i>	wanyap Wim	warnap Bung
<i>hand</i>	manya Wim	marna Bung

Other examples can be found in the Comparative Table. See, for instance, the entries for *white cockatoo* and *whiskers*. See also Blake and Reid (1994).

3.7 OVERVIEW

The tables at the end of this paper illustrate degrees of relatedness among Victorian languages and provide the evidence for the remarks about classification that appear above. From this data it appears that there is a group of relatively closely related languages, the Kulin languages, and a few other groups that are not closely related to Kulin nor to one another. The relative homogeneity of the Kulin languages is partly explained by the relative aridity of north-western Victoria, but this cannot be the sole explanation. It may be that they have expanded comparatively recently. This is suggested by the fact that there are a number of cognates shared between languages to the west (Bunganditj, Warmnambool) and languages to the east (Yota-Yota, Yabula-Yabula, Dhudhuroa, Pallanganmiddang and Gippsland. Some of these are illustrated in (16).

(16)	<i>south-west Victoria</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>eastern Victoria</i>
back	panu (B)	warrem, wart	panu (Dhu), panuth (Yota)
drink	thatha	kupa, ngupa	thang- (Yota), thaN- (Gipps)
elbow	thaliyn	ngunyuk, paluTH ¹⁴	tjalung (Gipps)
ground	miRit (B), miRing	THa(ng)	miri (Pall)
hand	maRa(ng)	manya/marna	maRa (Dhu, Pall)
hear	wanga	nyerna	wanga (Gipps)
hill	kaRang (Wannon)	purrrp	kRangaak (Gipps)
nose	kapu(ng) ¹⁵	ka(rr)(ng)	kawu (YY, Yab)
smoke	thuwung (Warr)	purt	thonga (YY, Yab), thuu (Pall), etc.
who	nganu (B), winya	winyarr	ngani (YY), etc.

In some cases a word found consistently across all Kulin tongues is found in just one or two neighbouring tongues. It is likely that this reflects borrowing from Kulin. For instance, **miRk** 'egg' is found in all Kulin tongues and in some dialects of the Warrnambool language; similarly **turt** 'star' is found in all Kulin tongues plus Yota-Yota and Yabula-Yabula.

In other cases a word is found in only one or two Kulin tongues plus a neighbouring tongue. This suggests borrowing into Kulin. For instance, most tongues of the Western Victorian Language have **paTHangal/partangal** as the word for 'pelican', but Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) and Wemba-Beraba in northwestern Victoria have **ninanguR(i)**, which is obviously similar to **nenanggu** in neighbouring Yitha-Yitha.

REFERENCES

- Blake, B. and J. Reid, 1994, Sound changes in Kulin. *La Trobe Working Papers in Linguistics* 7:1-14.
- Crowley, T., 1978, *The Middle Clarence dialects of Bandjalang*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Curr, E.M., 1886, *The Australian race*. Melbourne: Government Printer.
- Dawson, J., 1881, *Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia*. Melbourne: George Robertson.
- Dixon, R.M.W., 1980, *The languages of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W. et al., forthcoming, *Australian languages: their nature and development* (volume 1), *Australian languages: complete catalog* (volume 2). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fesl, E., 1985, *Ganai: a study of the Aboriginal languages of Gippsland based on nineteenth century materials*. Clayton: Monash University Master's thesis.
- Goedemans, R., 1997, Putting the Mathimathi stress rule in its proper perspective. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 17:43-70.
- Hale, K.L., 1976, On ergative and locative suffixial alternations in Australian languages. In R.M.W. Dixon ed. (1976) *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*, 414-417. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies; New Jersey: Humanities Press.
- Hercus, L.A., 1986, *Victorian languages: a late survey*. PL, B-77. (also 1969 edition published by Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies).
- 1989, Three linguistic studies from far south-western NSW. *Aboriginal History* 13:45-62.

¹⁴ The use of the digraphs TH and NH in capitals in words indicates a laminal, which could be realised by either a dental laminal (**th, nh**) or a palatal laminal (**tj, ny**).

¹⁵ See footnote 9 above.

- 1992, *Wembawemba dictionary*. Canberra: the author. [ISBN 0 646 10459 4]
 1993, Review of *Handbook of Australian Languages* vol.4, edited by R.M.W. Dixon and B.J. Blake. *Aboriginal History* 17:157-160.
 Holmer, N., 1966, *An attempt towards a comparative grammar of two Australian languages*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
 Mathew, J., 1899, *Eaglehawk and Crow*. London: David Nutt.
 O'Grady, G.N., C.F. and F.M. Voegelin, 1966, Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific fascicle six. *Anthropological linguistics* 8(2). Indiana: Indiana University.
 Schmidt, W., 1919, *Die Gliederung der australischen Sprachen*. Vienna: Mechitharisten Buchdruckerei.
 Smith, J., 1880, *The Booandik tribe of South Australian Aborigines*. Adelaide: Government Printer.
 Taplin, G., 1879, *The folklore, manners, customs and languages of the South Australian Aborigines*. Adelaide: Government Printer.

APPENDIX

This appendix contains the following tables:

Table 3 displays the case markers of Victorian languages.

Table 4 shows the first and second person singular pronouns from all the sources for the Western Language and for Wathawurrung in order to display the variety of forms, in particular the variety of pronoun bases. The principal sources are Hercus (1986), Curr (1886), various papers of R.H. Mathews (abbreviated as RHM), Taplin (1879) and Mathew (1899). The names given in the sources appear in italics. The numbers accompanying some of the sources are the numbers of lists in Curr 1886.

Tables 5-9 display the pronouns for each language for which there is data. The third person singular forms are not displayed since the sources present a confusing variety of demonstrative forms. Where a genuine (non-demonstrative) third person singular pronoun is recorded it is usually a reflex of the widespread Pama-Nyungan form ***NH**u.

The Comparative Table (Table 10) contains 138 words which were well represented in the sources. This means that it tends to include all the items in Curr's standard questionnaire. Not every word in every source has been included. The transcription of the stops has been standardised with the voiceless symbols.

Note that the rhotics are distinguished thus: **rr** represents a tap or trill and **r** represents a glide. This distinction applies only to words notated by Hercus. For all other words the nature of the rhotic cannot be determined and is represented by **R**.

In the Warrnambool entries **K** represents what Dawson calls *Kuurn Kopan Noot* and **PW** represents *Peek Whuurong*.

Entries in italics such as *ianaru* 'stomach' are in the original spelling of the source.

Reduplicated forms are sometimes represented by a stem plus the figure 2 to save space. See, for example, some of the entries for 'boomerang'.

There is a problem with verbs in that they are typically recorded with an inflection. We are not always confident about removing the inflection and this results in some inconsistency.

Where an initial consonant is lost in Australian languages and this would result in a **u** or **i** being exposed, an epenthetic, homorganic glide is inserted. The word for 'camp' in

Woiwurrung is **wilam**. The **w** is lost in Thagungwurrung to give **ilam**, but this appears as **yilam**. Similarly the initial **m** of **mula** 'shadow' in Wathawurrung is lost in the Warrnambool language and in Bunganditj where the form is **wul**. The appearance of the glides tends to disguise the fact that certain words are cognate.

Some comparative notes are included as footnotes. These are neither systematic nor comprehensive. They tend to be based on information found in the comparative tables of Curr and they incorporate information offered by interested colleagues.

TABLE 3: CASE MARKERS

	<i>ergative</i>	<i>genitive</i>	<i>dative/allative</i>	<i>locative</i>	<i>ablative</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	-(k)u, -(ng)u		-(k)a (oblique)	-(k)ang	-(k)unga
<i>Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill)</i>	-lu, -li	-(w)a	-nthal		-nang, -nu
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	-(k)u	-kitj, -katj		-kata, -kal	-(k)ang
<i>Wimmera</i>	-(k)u	-(k)itj	-(k)a, -(k)al	-ata	-(k)ang
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	-ng(k)u, -(y)u	-ng(k)a, -(y)a	-e		-nang
<i>Bunganditj</i>	-a	-(ng)at	-o (dative), -lon (allative)		
<i>Warrnambool</i>	-a	-ngat	-o	-nung, -nguRa	-kata?, -ki?
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	-a	-ak	-iyu	-a	
<i>Central Victoria</i>	-(th)a	-(th)al	-uth, etc.		-u
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	-l, -k	-(i)n	-uk, -nak	-naRak	-in
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	-nga, -k	-ngan	-k		-in
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	-ng(k)u	-la			
<i>Gippsland</i>	-(y)u, -tu	-a	-ia		-a

TABLE 4: FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS IN WESTERN LANGUAGE AND WATHAWURRUNG SOURCES

	<i>first person</i>				<i>second person</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	yiti		yinadu	-(ng)ai	ngindi		nginedu	-(ng)in
<i>Ledji-Ledji</i> Curr 202: Bumbang & Curr 203: Kulkynne	yati, yanga (202)				ngina (203)			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (SH)</i> RHM: Wamba	yeti, ¹⁴ yanta		yanayu	-ai	nginma		nginiyu	-in
<i>Wadi-Wadi (SH)</i> Beveridge: SH & Tyntynder (199)	yeti, yanda		yanayu		ngina, nginma		nginiyu	
<i>uncertain</i> Eyre: Boraiper	yetwa				ninwa			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (P)</i> Macredie: Piangil (Curr 201)	n(g)aldji				nandi			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (P)</i> Curr: Piangil (Curr 201)	n(g)iti				n(g)inte			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Hercus: Wemba-Wemba	yandang	-anda	yanteuk	-(ng)ek	ngin(tin), nginan (Curr 208D)	-arr	nginteuk ngun???	-ngin

(continued over)

¹⁴ The forms **yeti** and **nginma** also appear in Beveridge: Lower Murray and in Beveridge: Riverina.

Table 4 continued

<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208B: Lake Boga	walanyek				walaning			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208C: Moorerbat	walanyek				wanyin			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Stone: Lake Boga	walanyek				walanging			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> RHM Wuttyabullak	walangek	-an	walangangek	-ek	walanging	-arr	walangangin	-in
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208A: Moulmein	nayik				niam			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208E: Gunbower	nayik				neen			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Mathew: Gunbower	ngai, ngadj		yikek		ngindi		ngindi	
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> RHM: Burraba	ngatj (also Curr 208G: Kerang)	-nta	yekayuk	-ak	ngin (also Curr 208G: Kerang)	-arr	ngintayuk	-in
<i>Wimmera</i> Hercus: Djadjala		-an ¹⁵		-ek		-arr		-in
<i>Wimmera</i> Hagenauer: Pine Plain	waluRek	-an		-ek	walungin			

(continued over)

¹⁵ These bound forms also appear in Spieseke and -an, -ek and -arr also appear in Hartman: Lake Hindmarsh (both sources in Smyth). Spieseke also gives **ngan** 'I' and **ngarr** 'you' as free pronouns, but he also gives them as apparent suffixes in a verb paradigm: **wuReg-ngan**, **wuReg-ngarr**, etc. They are probably just the ordinary bound forms for languages in this area. However, the velar nasal is not too easy to explain, though we would expect a velar nasal in the original free forms from which the bound forms derived. In Spieseke's contribution to Taplin the pronouns **tjuRmik** 'I' and **tjuRmin** 'you' appear and these have been included in the table. In Curr's word list for Mount Hope: Panyool Dialect (208F) the first person pronoun is given as **ngan**.

Table 4 continued

<i>Wimmera</i> RHM:Tyatyalla	yuRwek nyungek	-an	yuRwangek	-(ng)ek	yuRwin nyungin	-arr	yuRwangin	-(ng)in
<i>Wimmera</i> Curr 204A: Tatiarra	yeRowek				yeRowin			
<i>Wimmera</i> Spieseke (in Taplin)	tjuRmik				tjuRmin			
<i>Wimmera</i> Curr 207A: Lake Hindmarsh		-aan			tjoRmin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr 204B: Tatiarra	tjoRmek	-an			tjoRmin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winek	-an		-(ng)ek	winin	-arr		-(ng)in
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Dawson	winek				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Hamilton (207G)	winak				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Mt Rouse (207H)	winak				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung?</i> RHM: Wimmera	winek				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Mathew: Ercildoune	wangal				dalkukarr	-arr	dalkukwangin	
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Glenelg above Woodford (207D)	wan				wanyen			

(continued over)

Table 4 continued

<i>Tjapwurrung?</i> Mathew (70)	wan		wangak		warr			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Morton Plains (206)	nge							
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> RHM:Tyapwurru	bengek		bengordigek		bengin		bengordigin	
<i>Djadjawurrung</i> Parker:Jajawrong Knenknenwurru	bengak				bengin			
<i>Djadjawurrong</i> Parker: Jajowerong	wan		wangek		warr		wangin	
<i>Djadjawurrung</i> RHM: Tyedyu- wurru	wangan	-an	wangek	-(ng)ek	wangarr, warr	-arr	wangin	-(ng)in
<i>Lewurru</i>	wangek	-an			wangin	-arr		
<i>Wathawurrung</i> RHM: Wuddyawurru	bengek	-ek	bengordigek	-ik	bengin	-arr	bengordigin	-in

TABLE 5: FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS

	<i>first person</i>				<i>second person</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	yeti		yinatu	-(ng)ai	nginti		nginetu	-(ng)in
<i>Ledji-Ledji</i>	yeti, yanga				ngina			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (SH)</i>	yeti, yanta		yanayu		ngina, nginma		nginiyu	
<i>Wadi-Wadi (P)</i>	n(g)iti, n(g)altji				n(g)inte, n(g)anti			
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	yantang	-anta	yanteuk	-(ng)ek	ngin(tin)	-arr	nginteuk	-(ng)in
<i>Burraba</i>	ngatj	-nta	yekayuk	-ak	ngin	-arr	ngintayuk	-in
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwek	-an	yuRWangek	-(ng)ek	yuRwin	-arr	yuRWangin	-(ng)in
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winek	-an		-(ng)ek	winin	-arr		-(ng)in
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wangan	-an	wangek	-(ng)ek	wangarr	-arr	wangin	-(ng)in
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngathu(k)	-nga	ngathowat, ngathangat	-ngayn	nguRo, nguRak	-ngin	nguRowat, ngutungat	-ngun
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngatuk	-u	ngatungat	-ngan	ngutuk	-ngin	ngutungat	-ngu
<i>Colac</i>	ngathuit		ngathangit					-ngin
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengek	-an	bengordigek, bengongik	-ik	bengin	-arr	bengordigin, bengongin	-in
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wan, maRambik	-an	nugalik, maRambayik	-ik	warr, maRambinheR	-arr	nugalin, maRambayinheR	in
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	nga		ngini		ngina		nguni	
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	ngaya		ngini		ngina		nguni	
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	ngadha	-ngadha	ngaila		nginda	-ndha	ngina	
<i>Pallanganmiddang</i>					ngina			
<i>Gippsland</i>	ngadha	-adha	ngidhalung		ngin(du)	-ngin(a)	nginalung	

TABLE 6: FIRST PERSON DUAL PRONOUNS

	<i>first person dual inclusive</i>				<i>first person dual exclusive</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	ngali		ngalidu	-(ng)al			ngaladu	
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	ngalein	-angal	ngaleug	-angalak	ngalung	-ngalang	ngalunguk	-(ng)aluk
<i>Burraba</i>	ngal	-ngal	ngalayuk	-(ng)al	ngalung	-ngalung	ngalunguk	-(ng)aluk
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwal	-ngal	yuRwangel	-(ng)aluk, -engalak	yuRwaluk (sic)	-ngalang	yuRwangeluk	-(ng)aluk
<i>Wuttyabulluk</i>	walungal	-ngal			walungalak			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winal	-ngal			winalak	-angal		
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wangel	-angal	wangel	-al	wangelang	-angalang	wangelak	
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngathowal	-ngal			ngathowilal	-nga		
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngat(h)ungal	-ngal			ngat(h)ungalein	-ngalin, -ngalang		
<i>Colac</i>	ngathunginak				ngathula		ngathangula	
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengal	-ngal	bengordingal		bengalak		bengordingalak	
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wangel	-ngal	nugalngal	-ngal	wangan	-ngan	nugalngan	-ngan
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	ngalngin		ngalungan		ngala			
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	ngali				ngali			
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	ngala	-ngal			nganda	-ngandha		
<i>Gippsland</i>	ngalu	-alu	ngalulung		nganangu	-angu		

TABLE 7: SECOND AND THIRD PERSON DUAL PRONOUNS

	<i>second person dual</i>				<i>third person dual</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>								
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>		-awal		-alak		-bula		-bulak
<i>Burraba</i>	ngulen	-wul	ngulayuk			-bula		
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwula(k)	-wul	yuRwangwula(k)		yuRbulang, yuRwoRokbulang	-bulang	yuRwangbulang	-bulak
<i>Wuttyabulluk</i>	walungula	-wul			walungbula	-buls		
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winwulak	-awul			winbulak	-abulang		
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wawul	-awal	wangatak		wabulang	-abulang	wabulak	
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngutpul				nunggul			
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngutuwal	-wul, -waR			tilakal?	-kal, -nda, -tja		
<i>Colac</i>								
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengbula		bengordiwula		bengbulang		bengordibulang	
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wabul	-nybul	nugalbul	-mbul	munyi guRabil	-nybulayn	nugalubulayn	-bulayn
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	bula		bulan					
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	bula		bulan					
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	bula	-uba			bungga	-ula		
<i>Gippsland</i>		-mba			bula	-bula	bulalung	

TABLE 8: FIRST PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS

	<i>first person plural inclusive</i>				<i>first person plural exclusive</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	yangurr			-ngurra			yinadu	-ngandang (WW)
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	yangurrein	-angurr	yangurreug	-angurrak	yangurrang	-angurrang	yandeug	-andak
<i>Burraba</i>	yangur	-anguR-(gat)	yanguriyuk	anguR-(ak)	yandang	-anda	yandiyuk	-andak, andang
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwenguRak	-ngu(R)	yuRwangenguRak	(e)(ng)uR-ak	yuRwendak	-andang	yuRwangendak	-(ng)andak
<i>Wutyabulluk</i>	walungaRa				walungandak			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winanguRa	-angu			winanguRak	-anda, -angu		
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wanguR	-anguR	wangenguRak		wandang	-angandang	wangendak wangandik	
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngathowe	-nge			ngathowile	-nge		
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngat(h)ungan	-ngan			ngat(h)unganin	-nganin		
<i>Colac</i>	ngathangoRok		ngathangangoRok					
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengadak		bengordingadak		bengwudjak		bengordiwudjak	
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wanganyin	-nganyin	nugalnganyin	-nganyin	wanganyinyu	-nganyinyu	nugalnganyinyu	-nganyinyu
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	nyuwanda		nyuwandan		nyana			
<i>Yabula</i>	nunhu				ngina?			
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	ngandanginya	-mana			nganandha	-ngandha		
<i>Gippsland</i>	waRu	-waRu			warna	-warna		

TABLE 9: SECOND AND THIRD PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS

	<i>second person plural</i>				<i>third person plural</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>			ngunedu					
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	ngudein	-adj	ngudeug	-adak		-an		-djanak
<i>Burraba</i>	ngut		ngutiyuk					
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwadak	-(aw)at	yuRwangadak		yuRwenak	-(an)atj, -(g)itj	yuRwangenak	-(ng)anak, -djanak
<i>Wuttyabulluk</i>	walungadak				walungenak			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	bengut	-at			benganak	-atj		
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wangat	-awat	wangathak		wangandi	-anatj	wandjanak	
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngutpula				nungpula			
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngutuwan	-wan, -waR			tilakanta?	-kanta, dja		
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengut		bengordingut, bengongut		benganak, bengthanang		bengordinganak, bengodithanak	
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wat balak	-at	nugalngut	-ngut	malu guRabila	-uR	nugaludhana, munyigadhan	-dhan
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	nhuRa		nhuRan					
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	nhuRa				dhana			
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	nguda							
<i>Gippsland</i>	nguRadhana				dhana			

TABLE 10: COMPARATIVE TABLE OF VICTORIAN LANGUAGES

	<i>alive</i>	<i>arm</i>	<i>baby</i>	<i>back</i>	<i>bad</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>		thathak[i]		tuthi	puki ¹⁶
<i>Ledji-Ledji</i>			pupup		tjelegan
<i>Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill)</i>	puRinya	t(h)a(r)tak[i]	pupu(p)	waRm, wart	w(a)ikeRu
<i>Wadi-Wadi (Piangil)</i>		taki ¹⁷	pupupi		puki, tjil(i)ka, waikatanyi
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i>	murrenta, muRun ¹⁸	thathak	popeyn	warrem	yathang
<i>Wimmera</i>	muRun	thatj-	pupup	warrem, wart	yatjang
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	muRun	thatjak	pupup	waRam, wart	yatjang
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	ngilamun ¹⁹	waRim	yaRang
<i>Bunganditj</i>	yurli	wu ²⁰	kun-	panu	w(V)Rang
<i>Wannon</i>		wuRk	pupup	weRip	ngamaRang
<i>Warrnambool</i>	puntian	wuRk	pupup	wart, wiR(e)k	(ngama)kaliyn, ngamintja(r)
<i>Colac</i>		kine ²¹	purteRong		
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	pupup	wiRip, wulum	nyulam, nyulim
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	pupup	ngaRak	nyulam, matapi (B)
<i>Thagungwurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	pupup	ngaRak	nyulam, matapi
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	thoana	poRinya	kothupka	panuth	mathi ²²
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>		poRiyn	kothupuk		mathi
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	muRpoa	katjinpa	pantjina	panu	kepeRi
<i>Pallanganmiddang</i>			kapika	kitha	mat(h)ing(k)a, puRanta
• <i>Gippsland</i>		pirntang	lith	ngarak	tintin, tenpin

¹⁶ Warlpiri **puka** 'rotten'

¹⁷ Warlpiri **rdaka**

¹⁸ Forms similar to **murrun** are found over much of NSW, e.g. Wiradjuri, Gamilaraay and Awabakal.

¹⁹ Only in one source.

²⁰ In Bunganditj **t(h)aRawu** means 'left arm' (cf. **THarrak**) and **maRawu** 'right arm' (cf. widespread **mara** 'hand').

²¹ Also given for 'leg'.

²² Compare Bularnu **mathu**, Warluwara **matju** (western Q).

	<i>big</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>blood</i>	<i>bone</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	tangi, withul, karrawi	puntatha	wurkirrim	kurrk[i] ²³	kalk[i] ²⁴
<i>Ledji</i>	wirtuR, witap			kuk(i)	kalk[i], pimpi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	karrawi, kuRangkantu, muRpuR	punta	wuka 'dark'	kuRk[i]	kalk[i]
<i>Wadi P</i>	kaRawi		waikeRimpi	kuRki	kalk[i], pimp[i]
<i>Wemba</i>	kurumpit, koR(ang)antuk	punta	wurkatang, wurkatail ²⁵	kurrk	kalk, mertərr
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurrung	punta	wurkirrim	kurrk	kalk
<i>Tjap</i>	martuk, matjuk	punta	wuRwuRkanitj	kuRk	kalk
<i>Djadja</i>	nguRi	punta	wuRkuRong	kuRk	kalk
<i>Bung</i>	wuRong	ngatha	monal, wurlu	kamaR, ²⁶ kuRuk	pii, paa
<i>Wannon</i>	martong, ²⁷ ngakel	punta	miyn	keRik	pakayn
<i>Warr</i>	miaR(ung), linggil	punta	miyn	keRek, koRi-	pakayn
<i>Colac</i>	paliyt, wamaRa	pung(k)aning		kuRk	yiRping
<i>Watha</i>	tirtapil	puna	wuRkaRapil	kuRk	nyayl, nyil
<i>Woi</i>	wuRthapu, pulalu	punta	wuRkurtin, wuRkapil	kuRk, kuRmul	nyilang
<i>Thagung</i>	wuRthapu	punta	wuRka(R)apil	kuRk	kalk
<i>Yota</i>	tun.kutja	yin-	thaalan	mawa	lilima
<i>Yabula</i>	nguRia	yin-			
<i>Dhudhu</i>	muRantu	pulingani	thayukilu		piamanhu
<i>Pallang</i>	pata			kuRu	kayila
<i>Gippsland</i>	kuwaRail	punta	ni(r)npa	kRuk, ka(r)ntopaRa	pRing, prrang

²³ **KuRk** is found in Yitha-Yitha. Note also Gamilaraay **guway**, Wiradjuri **guwayn**; **kuwaRu** in the Mayi languages (Q) and **gurratj** in Jawoyn (NT). The root **kul-** is found among the Northern languages. In Kunwinyku **kurrk** is 'body fluid'.

²⁴ **Kalk** occurs in Central Victoria as 'wood', 'tree'; note also **kalak** 'tree' in Gippsland. **Kalka** 'spear' is found in Queensland, e.g. Guugu-Yimidhirr.

²⁵ For the suffixes **-tang** and **-tail** see Hercus (1986:26). For the root compare Baagandji **kukirka**.

²⁶ A form **kuma(R)** is widespread.

²⁷ Means 'good' in Bunganditj.

	<i>boomerang</i>	<i>bottom/buttocks</i>	<i>breast</i>	<i>brother, elder</i>	<i>brother, younger</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	wani ²⁸	mum-		wawi	perrat
<i>Ledji</i>	wani	mumi	kumpi, kutapi	wawi, muntunti	pampi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	wani		kuimp[i]	waw-	palaR
<i>Wadi P</i>	wani		kuimpi, tanti	wawi	
<i>Wemba</i>	wan, katam-katam	mum	kurrn, ²⁹ tjang	wawi	kutni-
<i>Wimmera</i>	katim-katim	mum	kurrn, tjang	wawi	kutin
<i>Tjap</i>	tatum-tatum, litum2	mum, mulu	kuRm, tjang	wawi	kuti
<i>Djadja</i>	tatim-tatim	mum	kuRmp-	waRw-	kut
<i>Bung</i>	ketap-ketap,katam2		paap	waRkali	toti
<i>Wannon</i>	katam-katam	mum, ngali-nyun, paRiyn	ngapang ³⁰	warti	koko
<i>Warr</i>	letem-letem		ngapang	warti	koko
<i>Colac</i>			piRm-piRm, piRi ³¹	tirta	koRompuiyt
<i>Watha</i>	wan.kim	mum	tjuRam	wartung, wartang	wangat, tjitji
<i>Woi</i>	wan.kim	mum, pilik	piRm-piRm, piRin	pangkayn, wurmtulung	thithith
<i>Thagung</i>	wan.kim	pilik	piRm-piRm, piRin	tati, pangkayn	parnumpi
<i>Yota</i>	wanya	mutja ³²	payiR	paanyupa	thatjupa, kitjila
<i>Yabula</i>	thalkuR			wawa	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	wan.kewa		piRiwa	maRokayn	ngulupamin
<i>Pallang</i>	wan.ki	tuRu	piRi	wawa	
<i>Gippsland</i>	wan.kim	kirran	pang, pak	ppramon 'brother'	thanthang 'brother'

²⁸ **Wan-** is widespread, e.g. Baagandji **wana** 'non-returning boomerang', Mari languages (Q) **wangal**, Kayardild (Q) **wangalk**; Diyari (SA) **wana** 'digging stick'.

²⁹ Cognates are scarce, but note **kulambi** in Yirandhali (Q).

³⁰ Forms similar to **ngapang** are found from Sydney northward along the coast of NSW, also Warlpiri **ngapurlu**.

³¹ **BiRi** is found throughout NSW, e.g. Wiradjuri **birring** 'chest'.

³² Warlpiri **mudju** 'coccyx', 'base of spine'.

	<i>bring/get</i>	<i>brolga</i>	<i>by-and-by</i>	<i>camp</i>	<i>canoe</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	mangkatha, werrpatha	kuthuni	tathi, tarti, kangu		yungwip
<i>Ledji</i>		kutarni	kalwa, tjilaluka	lang(i)	lunguwi [sic] ³³
<i>Wadi SH</i>	waiwa, mani-	kurtani	tarti	luRngi [sic]	yungkuwi
<i>Wadi P</i>		tuRkanyi	pawa	laingi	yungkupi
<i>Wemba</i>	paika	kut(h)un	kila, kathang	lar, ngaR(k), kuyintji	yungwitj
<i>Wimmera</i>	maneka, waiwa	kutjun	malupmia	lar	yungwip
<i>Tjap</i>	maneka, mutjaka	kutjun, nuRkuang	maluk	laR	yungkuip
<i>Djadja</i>		kuRun ³⁴	nyumitj(-paRak)	laR	yungkuip
<i>Bung</i>	mana, wampawe	wanti, purtmata		ngurla	wala, etc
<i>Wannon</i>	mana-wata-tayn	kuRun, kuRuk	kalu ³⁵	wum	thuRong
<i>Warr</i>	wampa(ki)	kuRun, kuRu(R)k	kalu	wum	thuRong
<i>Colac</i>	koRantji-lantan	kuRu(R)k	thala		
<i>Watha</i>	mutjaka	poRongkitj	malo, paRa-paRa	kaRung	yukuip, yinya-yinyu, yawut
<i>Woi</i>	wanthatji, tuapongka	kuRu(R)k	muluku, paRa-paRa	wilam ³⁶	kuRong
<i>Thagung</i>	wanthatji	kuRu(R)k	muluku, malemal(thu)	yilam ³⁷	kuRong
<i>Yota</i>	paya, yako(R)ma	kunukuthula	tjinyangkuma	manu	matha
<i>Yabula</i>		tawiRi	kanyangkuma	kuwa	putju
<i>Dhudhu</i>	matjku	piRangkanpa	mayangan	ngutjua	mautha, tuthu
<i>Pallang</i>	yanti	perang(k)a	yutaRa	mani, panto	m(a)utha
<i>Gippsland</i>	wanai, yaRapa	kuRakan	nawanthu, miRinthu, takuyt	pang, nguya	kRi

³³ The initial *l* is strange. Note the lenition of the final labial stop before a following vowel in this and the entry below.

³⁴ Forms such as Djirbal *gururr* are common along the coast of Queensland and NSW.

³⁵ Mayali (NT) *kaluk*

³⁶ In Mayali (NT) this form means 'paperbark raft/canoe'.

³⁷ Initial *w* lost in Thagungwurrung; compare *inha* 'who'.

	<i>carry</i>	<i>cheek</i>	<i>cloud, light 'l' and dark/thunder 'd'</i>	<i>cockatoo black</i>
<i>Madhi</i>			mengki, wapungurr 'd'	
<i>Ledji</i>		taiki	laaki	
<i>Wadi SH</i>	wali	teRk-	murnki	tjeRin (black-red), wiRani (black-yellow)
<i>Wadi P</i>				
<i>Wemba</i>	wer(ə)ka	muRek	marn 'l'mar(ə)ng 'd', tanpil 'd', tanmil 'd'	wiRan
<i>Wimmera</i>		taRak	mereng (=sky), tarpil 'd'	kamatj, kiRin, kaRwil
<i>Tjap</i>	mutjaka	muRak	maRng	wiRan
<i>Djadja</i>		muRak	maR(o)ng	wiRayn
<i>Bung</i>	tjinipa	wuRaa, kana-waRi	murn(ong), murnmaRi(t)	put ³⁸ wila, ³⁹ t(h)(a)Riyn
<i>Wannon</i>	ngurna, keRangu	tjakRan	murnpung (=sky), thampil 'd'	wilan
<i>Warr</i>	walata, wampa-	wang, thatha(k)	murnong (=sky)	wilan
<i>Colac</i>			maRng	
<i>Watha</i>	waima, tula	wang	tummaRng, wuRwuR	tjaRiyn, wiRan
<i>Woi</i>	waRongka(po)	wang	laak	yangkai, ngayamong
<i>Thagung</i>		wang	laak	
<i>Yota</i>	lupa	tamula	yuRatha ⁴⁰ (=sky)	nyaRing, nyanang
<i>Yabula</i>			yuRathek	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	waRong(k)aRa		kaRayu (=rain)	nianyu
<i>Pallang</i>	yang(k)uthu-kaRa		yuwatha	
<i>Gippsland</i>	kurtpa	wang	nurt	nga(r)nak ⁴¹

³⁸ **Purt** is the first element of bird names in this language.

³⁹ Awabakal (NSW) **waiila**.

⁴⁰ Awabakal **yuRa**, Gamilaraay **yuru**, Wiradjuri **yuurruung**.

⁴¹ Kayardild (Q) **ngarnala** 'white cockatoo'.

	<i>cockatoo white</i>	<i>cold (temperature)</i>	<i>creek/river</i>	<i>crow</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	thinawi, kirrenti 'corella'	minti	tinti	wangi
<i>Ledji</i>	kawa	mintji		wang(i)
<i>Wadi SH</i>	keRangi	yepRa, poylinga, miRianyema	pamiwaR(u), milu	wangi, waRangan
<i>Wadi P</i>	keRangi, tjuRanyi	tinangi		walatjali
<i>Wemba</i>	tjinap, kat(h)əkarr	pumpilang	piR, yalok, kapəl	wa
<i>Wimmera</i>	tjinap, katjckarr 'corella'		parr	wa
<i>Tjap</i>	tjinyap, katjaka(R) 'corella'	mut-mut, mu(m)mut	parr	wa
<i>Djadja</i>	tjinap	motangin, pantjal (=feel cold?)	purr	wa, maRangan
<i>Bung</i>	purt kaRa al, meR(a)n	munmon, murton, mut-mut	pawuR ⁴²	wa
<i>Wannon</i>	kaRakiyt	mu(r)t-mu(r)t	pukaRa	wang
<i>Warr</i>	ngayuk	palapetj, konketitj	puRang K, waRinung PW	wang
<i>Colac</i>		piRiyn	yaluk	kawakuRk
<i>Watha</i>	tjinap, kaRaka(R) 'corella'	piRiyn, munmut, mutang-	yaluk	waa
<i>Woi</i>	ngayuk, kaan	mutawi-, piRiyn 'winter', panthal 'feel cold'	yaluk, kurnung, wurmit	wang
<i>Thagung</i>	kaan	mutawi-, mutanga-, panthal 'feel cold', luRk-luRk	kurnung	wang
<i>Yota</i>	tjaRing	polkatj, mati-	tong(k)ala, kayila	waka, tangamai
<i>Yabula</i>	kaRang	poleki		waka
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kitaunu	kaRkatpa, kaRkutang	tjeRingemo(R)	wakaRa
<i>Pallang</i>	kiya	pathawatha, puwatha	[ng]aR, kiRu	peRo(n)tha
<i>Gippsland</i>	pRaak	miRpak	kawitj	ngaRukal, wa(y)kaRa

⁴² The similar forms in this column may be related; compare analogous phonetic differences in the forms for 'nose'.

	<i>cry</i>	<i>dark (d), night (n)</i>	<i>dead/die</i> ⁴³	<i>dog</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	numila	puingki (n), puinthi (n)	wikatha	kali, ⁴⁴ wirrangan
<i>Ledji</i>		pontji (d, n), ⁴⁵ koli (d)	wika	kali
<i>Wadi SH</i>	lumla (<i>or</i> tumla)	puRangi (d, n), kuRali (d, n), wuka (d)	thelpi-, piRa	wiRangin, wiRengkal
<i>Wadi P</i>		puRungi (d, n)	thelpi	kali
<i>Wemba</i>	numila	puruyn ⁴⁶ (d, n)	wika	wirrengən, wilkarr
<i>Wimmera</i>	numila	puruyn (d, n)	wika	kal, wilkerr
<i>Tjap</i>	yiRia, lumili	puRuyn (d, n)	wika, titjai	kal, wilka(R)
<i>Djadja</i>	maRi	puRuyn (d, n)	tiRiyang	kal, wilka(R)
<i>Bung</i>	lung(k)a	mul (d, n), ⁴⁷ murr(i) (n)	nuan	kal
<i>Wannon</i>		puRuyn (d, n), palan (d)	kalpirm	kal
<i>Warr</i>	lunga-, ⁴⁸ wi(R)pa	puRuyn (d, n), kuRuwaluk	kalpirm	kal, purnang PW
<i>Colac</i>		puRun(h)a (n)	patmaRi-	ngantu, kwantuk
<i>Watha</i>	lungawa-, lungga-	muRkal (d, n)	tirta	kal
<i>Woi</i>	maRu-, martu-, etc.	puRuyn (d, n)	wayikaith, wiakuyn	wiRingan, yiRangin ⁴⁹
<i>Thagung</i>		puRuyn (d, n)	wayikaith, weRikai	wiRingan, yiRangin
<i>Yota</i>	tanu	thala (d, n), mulok-mulok (d), thola (n)	kukuyn, yutanangi	paka
<i>Yabula</i>		yenutj (n)	nothaRan	kumau
<i>Dhudhu</i>	nangkai	thukutjpa (d, n)	miRikini ⁵⁰ , nginyanga	wingka
<i>Pallang</i>	kutji-	kayiwaRa (d), tuma (n), tana (n)	paRaRa	poa, naRa
<i>Gippsland</i>	nuuN	pukang (d, n), patkalak (n)	thertiken	paayn

⁴³ See also the entries for 'hungry'.

⁴⁴ **Karli** is found on the Darling (e.g. Baagandji) and in eastern SA.

⁴⁵ There is a problem with interpreting the notations ending in *-ingi*. Do they represent *-ingi*, *-ingki* or *-indji*? This applies to the Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) entry also.

⁴⁶ Wiradjuri **buurruundhang**, Dharawal (NSW) **buRa**.

⁴⁷ Compare Gabi (Q) **mulu**.

⁴⁸ The root **lung-** 'cry' is widespread.

⁴⁹ Initial **w** has been lost and a homorganic glide replaces it. Compare **wilam** and **yilam** 'camp', 'hut'.

⁵⁰ Western Desert **mirri**.

	<i>drink, to</i>	<i>duck, black</i>	<i>eagle</i>	<i>ear</i>	<i>eat</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kupa(tha)	tulum	wulekil	wimpula	thaka ⁵¹
<i>Ledji</i>	kupila	tulum		wimpuli	tjakili-, tjawa
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kupa	tulum, tarnawaR	wiRpil ⁵²	wiRimpul ⁵³	tjak(e)la
<i>Wadi P</i>	kupa	thulumi, ngaRi ⁵⁴ (wood duck)	wayapil	tjulantu/i	tjika-, thawa-
<i>Wemba</i>	kup(il)a	ngare, nini, noweRa	weRpil, pangkəl	wirimpula	tjaka-
<i>Wimmera</i>	kup(il)a	ngaRi, ngere	werpil	wirimpul	tjaka-
<i>Tjap</i>	kupila, ngupila	ngaRi	weRpil, ngaRayl	wiRmpul	tjaki-
<i>Djadja</i>	ngupila	ngaRi	weRpil	wi(R)mpul	thaka
<i>Bung</i>	thatha ⁵⁵	purna	ngiRi	wRang	thiRa
<i>Wannon</i>	thatha	kRayn	ngiangkaRa	wiRing	thaka
<i>Warr</i>	thatha	thupuRung, moi PW	ngiangka(Ra), keRulet K	wiRng K, wing PW	thaki-
<i>Colac</i>	ngolika	tulum, piRiwang	ngolimeRik	wiRi	kutjala, luta, wutka
<i>Watha</i>	ngupa	tulum	ngaRomka, waRawa, etc.	wiRng	kutja(1a)-
<i>Woi</i>	ngupa	tulum	puntjil	wiRng	thanga
<i>Thagung</i>	ngupa	tulum	puntjil	wiRng	thanga
<i>Yota</i>	thang-, thaku-, poki-	tulma	wanmiR, kuRanyin	maRmu	thatji, matjimi-
<i>Yabula</i>	kongayang	wangirl	ngarta	maRam ⁵⁶	thaki-
<i>Dhudhu</i>	ngumaRe	tulumu	wanamaRu	maRampo	thana
<i>Pallang</i>	kunimanipa, pokerte	tuma	waRimu	maRampa	takathi
<i>Gippsland</i>	thaN-, kluk-	w(u)Rang	kwanamaRu	wRing	tha-

⁵¹ The root **THa** is widespread.

⁵² Awabakal (NSW) **wiRipang**.

⁵³ **Wiri** seems to be Victorian, though Hercus suggests Baagandji **yuri** and similar forms may be cognate; **pul(a)** is dual.

⁵⁴ Miming (SA) **ngaRawa**.

⁵⁵ Probably reduplicated form of **Tha** 'to eat', compare Warlpiri **djadja-rni** 'eat/drink part of'

⁵⁶ There may be cognates in the Tangkic languages (Q); compare Lardil **merral**, Yukulta **marralda**.

	<i>egg</i>	<i>elbow</i>	<i>emu</i>	<i>excrement</i>	<i>eye</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	miki		karringi, yumparli, yurmtal		mir[i] ⁵⁷
<i>Ledji</i>	mik(i), miRki	n[g]unuki	kaR(a)wingi	kumangi, kalingi	mingi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	miRki	ngonyuR-, kaniw-	kurriwiyin, kuRwingi	kunang(i)	miR[i]
<i>Wadi P</i>	maiki		paR(a)imali ⁵⁸	kunang(i)	maingi
<i>Wemba</i>	mirk	munyuk	kawiR, tjurungwil	kuna ⁵⁹	mir(i)
<i>Wimmera</i>	mirk	ngu(n)yuk	kawirr	kuna	mir
<i>Tjap</i>	miRk	palutj	kawiR, yawiR	kuna	miR
<i>Djadja</i>	pum-pum	palutj	paRamal	kuna	miR, ma
<i>Bung</i>	kula, kuwa	thaluk, thaliyn	kapiR, kawiR	kuna	miR
<i>Wannon</i>	kule	thaliyn	kapiRng	kunang	miRng
<i>Warr</i>	miRk K, mik PW, minyeung PW	thaliyn	kapiRng, paRaynmal K	kunang	miRng K, miR PW, ming PW
<i>Colac</i>	putjung	polon	paRi(n)mal		miR
<i>Watha</i>	kayi	paluth	kawiR	kunang	miR
<i>Woi</i>	tiRantiR	paluth, kuRun	paRaimal	kumang	miRng
<i>Thagang</i>	tiRantiR	kuRun	paRaimal	kumang	miRng
<i>Yota</i>	putjanga	kuki(R), nganangka	pikaRumtja	kuna	miyal, maa
<i>Yabula</i>			kotayami	kuna	maa
<i>Dhudhu</i>	thang(k)a	kaRanpa	maRiawa ⁶⁰	kunu	wuntjapa
<i>Pallang</i>	puwa, poya	kaRaRa	maR(i)a	kuRa	mii
<i>Gippsland</i>	puyang	tjalung	mayawaRa	kwanang	mRi

⁵⁷ The widespread root is **mil**.

⁵⁸ Similar forms are found in NSW meaning 'swan', e.g. Gamilaraay **barayamal**.

⁵⁹ Widespread Pama-Nyungan root.

⁶⁰ Similar forms are found along the NSW coast, e.g. Dhurga **maRia**.

	<i>fat</i>	<i>fall</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>feather</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	puipul, paipul ⁶¹ 'kidney fat'	puika	mami ⁶²	within[i]
<i>Ledji</i>	pipula, kantjo		mamai	
<i>Wadi SH</i>	pipal-, piangwil	puika	mam[i]	wirten-
<i>Wadi P</i>	kalpinti-		mami	
<i>Wemba</i>	papul, mampul-, kurratj	puika	mam	withən
<i>Wimmera</i>	pepul	puika	maam	witjan
<i>Tjap</i>	papul	puika	mami	witjin
<i>Djadja</i>	pepul-	puika	mam	wiRayn
<i>Bung</i>	mumpu(l)i	ponyi-	maam	wirtiR
<i>Wannon</i>	pepul	(pRangat) yungi-	pipai ⁶³	[ng]alang, tjaRat
<i>Warr</i>	pipul	yungkaya, yanta w/purt	pipai	kuRotnong K, turnong PW
<i>Colac</i>			mama	
<i>Watha</i>	koRiyt, tjen, mampula	papwiRi-, taalen	pitjaRng	kuRan
<i>Woi</i>	mampula, maRp	pulta-,	mama	kangan
<i>Thagung</i>	maRp	patheRempi-	mama, waRitj	
<i>Yota</i>	waliktja	taati-	kaya, papu	tuno, wunutja
<i>Yabula</i>			pingalam	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kalanhu, kalimpu	wenthuRe	mema	
<i>Pallang</i>	pataRa		mamka	
<i>Gippsland</i>	waniwan	plakatju-	mungan	wirt wirt, paRa-

⁶¹ Hercus suggests that some of the forms in this column may contain a dual **-pul**, the words often being used for fat from kidneys.

⁶² **Mama** is found in the Western Desert language (WA, SA, NT).

⁶³ **Pipa** is found in Warlpiri, and **papi, papa** are found in SA, NSW and Q.

	<i>fire</i>	<i>fly (noun)</i>	<i>foot</i>	<i>frightened</i>	<i>girl</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	wanapi	pithiki	thinangi	pampa-	paingkuk-murrunhi
<i>Ledji</i>	wurnapi ⁶⁴	pitiki	tjinangi		
<i>Wadi SH</i>	warnawi, wingkel	pirti	tjinangi		muRungkuR
<i>Wadi P</i>	winapi, wunapi	piti, piki	tjinangi		
<i>Wemba</i>	wanap	pithik	tjina ⁶⁵	pampa	
<i>Wimmera</i>	wanyap	pitjik	tjina	pampa	
<i>Tjap</i>	wi	pitjik	tjina	pampa	panya, paRat, lanin kuRk
<i>Djadja</i>	wi	piRik	tjina	pampa	puni-puni
<i>Bung</i>	warnap, warnam	yuwal-yuwal, muloy	thina	yin-, yainuna	paRayt-paRayt
<i>Wannon</i>	wiyn ⁶⁶	manak	thinang	pampu-	paRayt, naRan-kuRk
<i>Warr</i>	wiyn	wuRil K, minik K	thinang	ku(r)ninpa	paRayt-paRayt
<i>Colac</i>	wiyn	muRo(y)n 'march fly'	kinang ⁶⁷	mayn.ka	
<i>Watha</i>	wiyn	tjutjut	tjinang	nga(R)p-kunang, ngalpil-	murtimuntik, nganyakuRk (=small female)
<i>Woi</i>	wiyn	kaRakaRak	tjinang	pampa	purnai, murmmurtik
<i>Thagung</i>	wiyn	kaRakaRak	tjinang	pampa	purnai
<i>Yota</i>	pitja	wawinya	tjina	tjiuman	nanyanpana, nyawaka 'small'
<i>Yabula</i>	kalao		tjina		nyawak
<i>Dhudhu</i>	ngiampanpa	mayangampa	tjinu	waRakana	weki, tjamakanpa 'small'
<i>Pallang</i>	kaRa ⁶⁸	pampa, kuwatha	tjiRa	kamena	
<i>Gippsland</i>	thaweRa	ngaRun, pian	tjayn	tjinakan	

⁶⁴ The vowel **a** becomes **u** before **R** also in **luRngi** 'camp'.

⁶⁵ **THina** is widespread.

⁶⁶ Similar forms are found in New South Wales and Queensland: Wangkumara **wii**, Wiradjuri **wiiyn**.

⁶⁷ Also given for 'arm'.

⁶⁸ Hercus points out that **karla** is widespread and is found in South Australia and Western Australia, e.g. Nyungar **karla**.

	<i>goanna</i>	<i>good</i>	<i>grass</i>	<i>ground, earth</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	nganurri 'tree', wathangi 'sand'	telki	wurringki	thangi
<i>Ledji</i>		talki	poatji	tjangi, tjantji
<i>Wadi SH</i>		talku, payu	wulngi, wuluki	thangi
<i>Wadi P</i>		piRimali, payu	wulngi, wuluki	thangi
<i>Wemba</i>	tjuling 'tree', watha 'sand'	telkuk	poətj, yiing	tja ⁶⁹
<i>Wimmera</i>	ngangurr 'tree', watje 'sand'	thalkuk	puatj	tja
<i>Tjap</i>	tjulin 'tree'	thalkuk	puatj	tja
<i>Djadja</i>	yu(R)kun	thalkuk	poyn	tja
<i>Bung</i>	yuRu 'ground'	martong ⁷⁰	puthu	miRiit, m(a)Raas
<i>Wannon</i>		ngutjung ⁷¹	puthong	miRing
<i>Warr</i>	walap, yuRuk 'blue tongue'	ngutjung	kaRiwan K, puthong PW	miRing
<i>Colac</i>		tu-ker-noke		muRa, tha
<i>Watha</i>	tjulin 'tree', yuRok	kunyapa, manamith	paRa, woRon.kai	tja, teRk
<i>Woi</i>		purntap, manamith	poath, panum	piik, naRap
<i>Thagung</i>	thuliyn	purntap	poath	piik, naRap
<i>Yota</i>	paRyepala 'ground', piltjimtja 'tree', wawayt 'black'	kalinya, thoma talko	pa(R)pan	waka
<i>Yabula</i>		kaliyn	pelart	waka
<i>Dhudhu</i>	wuRuRa-djawa 'ground', kuRutha/i 'tree'	kantja	muRu	kuRatpa
<i>Pallang</i>		kiyantji	kampaRu	miRi
<i>Gippsland</i>	pathaluk		pan	wuRk, waRk

⁶⁹ Gabi (Q) tja, Wiradjuri dhaagun.

⁷⁰ Martong is 'big' in Wannon.

⁷¹ Warlpiri ngurrdju.

	<i>hair</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>head</i>	<i>hear</i>	<i>heart</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	ngarra-	manha[ngi]	purp[i]	tema(tha)	munt
<i>Ledji</i>	ngaRa-pupi	manadji, marnangi	pup(a)i	n(h)aRa-	
<i>Wadi SH</i>	ngaRa-	mama-	puRp	teRpima	monRe(n)tu
<i>Wadi P</i>	ngua-poipi	manangi	poipi		
<i>Wemba</i>	ngarra	manya	puRp, murreng	nyerna	wutjup ⁷²
<i>Wimmera</i>	ngarra	manya	purp	nyerna, ngaRang-	wutjup
<i>Tjap</i>	ngaRa	manya	puRp	nyiarn	wutjup
<i>Djadja</i>	ngaRa	marna	puRp	ngerna, nyerna	tuRung
<i>Bung</i>	ngarla-purp	marna, maRa ⁷³	puup	wanga ⁷⁴	luu(ng)
<i>Wannon</i>	ngarlang, kurt, ngaRat	maRang	tarnti, kulan, pia	wanga	litj, wiRa-wart-nung
<i>Warr</i>	ngaRat	maRang	pim ⁷⁵	wanga	linan
<i>Colac</i>	kan-muRk	ma	muRk	wa(ng)atka-, natkiRi	
<i>Watha</i>	ngaR-muRk	mama	muRk	nyaRwa, ngaRwa	thuRung, t(h)uRm ⁷⁶
<i>Woi</i>	yaRa ⁷⁷	mamang	kawang	ngarn.ka, ngaka	tuRung
<i>Thagung</i>		mamang	kawang	ngarn.ka	tuRung
<i>Yota</i>	pukan	piyin	puko	nyarn-	puRa, tipa
<i>Yabula</i>		piRik			
<i>Dhudhu</i>		maRa	maRiawa	ngaRinpai	
<i>Pallang</i>	koRowa	maRa	puwa		pa(r)nteRa
<i>Gippsland</i>	lirt	pReth	pRuk	wanga-	pulkan tulet, pulpulka

⁷² **Wutjup** also means 'stomach' in the three languages in which it occurs; it also means 'inside' in Wemba-Wemba.

⁷³ **MaRa** is widespread. **Mana** is found in Ngarigu and Dhurga (NSW); **mani** is found in Waanyi and Garrawa (NT).

⁷⁴ Warlpiri **wanga-marda** 'deaf', 'silly'

⁷⁵ Kunwinyku (NT) **pam/pem**

⁷⁶ Kamic languages (SA, Q) have **thuru** 'inside'; also found as 'heart' in far north, e.g. Jawoyn (NT) **-dor**.

⁷⁷ Note the absence of a final **ng**. See 'whiskers'.

	<i>hill</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>heat/hot</i>	<i>hungry</i> ⁷⁸
<i>Madhi</i>	purpi ⁷⁹	taka	kathayi	wikatha
<i>Ledji</i>		tak-	kat(a)i	kanampan, kRinampan
<i>Wadi SH</i>	puRp-, panyul		karti	pia, piRa, kiRmampia
<i>Wadi P</i>			nangka, ping(k)un	tapun
<i>Wemba</i>	purrp, panyul	tjilpa-, taka-, tawa-	tjalang(a), pari-wil	wika
<i>Wimmera</i>	purrp	tjilpa, taka-		wika
<i>Tjap</i>	puRp, kawa, panyul	tjilpa-		milaya(ng), wika
<i>Djadja</i>	yonong	tjilpa	woimpa, wukukul	maRiyang
<i>Bung</i>	pupik, kaRipu(ng)	wina-	wuat, etc.	tirtpan
<i>Wannon</i>	kaRang	purta	kaloyn, thika	kalpimo
<i>Warr</i>	kang, pim <i>neung</i> PW	purta-	kaloyn	kalpimo, partupang
<i>Colac</i>	paRap		wiri-maklin	
<i>Watha</i>	panyul	tjilpa	konggat, waRwatnyo	miRa-, tolpele-
<i>Woi</i>	panhul, panmil, nguRak	tjilpa	wulun, tumpatin	nyiRepurtin, nyiRepRuin
<i>Thagung</i>	panhul, nguRak	tjilpa	wulun, naRwoRing	nyiRepurtin, nyiRepRuin
<i>Yota</i>	puRp, yula, walawa	nyin-	titjiyt	mulanwitj, mulanmuk/tj
<i>Yabula</i>	walantha	lini-	tikati	milinmi
<i>Dhudhu</i>	pupuRa, mingkau-kanitha	tak-	meninha	pangunowo
<i>Pallang</i>	popuRa, padaRe	takana	koneta	pangwanapi, waRwanta
<i>Gippsland</i>	kRangaak	pantha-	kwaRakwan, kwaRakwaRak	mReman, kanyuk(an)

⁷⁸ Note that some of the words given for 'hungry' were also given for 'die/dead'. In Old English the verb **steorfan** meant 'to die', but its modern English reflex **starve** means 'to die of hunger' or 'to be very hungry'.

⁷⁹ See **purrp** 'head'.

	<i>husband</i>	<i>jump</i>	<i>kangaroo</i>	<i>kangaroo rat</i>	<i>knee</i>
<i>Madhi</i>		perrpatha	kur ⁸⁰		patheng[i]
<i>Ledji</i>	layukil		kuyang(i)		pa(r)tingi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	layulu, martum 'spouse'		kuRangi		parti
<i>Wadi P</i>	nupu 'spouse'		koRangi		
<i>Wemba</i>	mit-, nganitj	pirritjana	kurre	pare	pathing
<i>Wimmera</i>	nganitj	pap-pap-kuma	kurre	tjaleka	patjing
<i>Tjap</i>	nganitj	papkuRmiyan, tjultkaRen	kuRa ⁸¹	parrutj, potjuk	patjiyn
<i>Djadja</i>	nganitj	piRp tjanin	kuRa, kurri	paRuk	paRing
<i>Bung</i>	nganap(u)(n)	yungkuya	kuRi, kuRa	paRuk	paRayn
<i>Wannon</i>	nganap	papkupa	kuRayn, kuRayt	paRuk	paRayn
<i>Warr</i>	nganap(urn)	kupam K, wurmpin K, papkupamin PW	kuRayn	paRuk	paRayn
<i>Colac</i>		yulaRa-, yulathi	kuRa		pun-
<i>Watha</i>	lanapun, nganapun ⁸²	pilpuRiyn	ku(y)im	paRuk	pun ⁸³
<i>Woi</i>	ngangkoRong	yuli-	ku(y)im, maRam ⁸⁴	paRuk	paRing
<i>Thagung</i>	ngangkoRong	yuli-	maRam	paRuk	paRing
<i>Yota</i>	panyawut, winya-panayiR	yako-	kayima, puRa	ngaRinguRa, paRinuta, ngamuata	yukun, yuRnga
<i>Yabula</i>			wartakau		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	ningkulali	petakile	yuwaRa		thiminpa
<i>Pallang</i>	paynteRothu	popati	putju	kima	yuwa
<i>Gippsland</i>	pinang	kinth-	tjiRa	pRi	pun

⁸⁰ Shared with Thura-Yura languages of SA (Hercus pers.com.).

⁸¹ KuRa has plausible cognates in various Queensland languages including Ngawun (Q) **kuru** and Margany (Q) **kula**.

⁸² Both these terms were also given for 'wife'.

⁸³ There are possible cognates in various Queensland languages: Pitta-Pitta **purnku**, Punthamara **punkulu**, Biri **punkur**, etc.

⁸⁴ Compare Gabi (Q) **maRi**, Warlpiri (NT) **mara**.

	<i>kookaburra</i> ⁸⁵	<i>lightning</i>	<i>long</i> ⁸⁶	<i>louse</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kung-kung	tuluwipa	thulangi	munhungi ⁸⁷
<i>Ledji</i>	kung-kung, kong(k)o			
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kowoRi, kung(k)o	milapu, milaku	tuRangkal	
<i>Wadi P</i>	kuRi			
<i>Wemba</i>	kurng-kurng	wayinlarr	tjurung	munya
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurng-kurng	wilem-pa-memter ⁸⁸	tjuwerung	munya
<i>Tjap</i>	kowa(R)k, kuRng-kuRng	mila(R)kuk, wilimpak	tjuwa(R)ng	munyu
<i>Djadja</i>	kuno(R)k	milakuk	kapul	munya
<i>Bung</i>	kuwa(r)tang	minanmun		murna
<i>Wannon</i>	thaRkuk	wilim, tjoRut-nyong		
<i>Warr</i>	kunith	ya(R)wan K, maRthung K, wilimnang P	wuRumpi	paRum
<i>Colac</i>				
<i>Watha</i>	kuwaRk	muRinyuk	nyiRim	munya
<i>Woi</i>	kuRng-kuRng	tjiRingu	yuRpot, nyiRiRim, kanangnail, tung-tung	munhong
<i>Thagung</i>	kuRng-kuRng	tjiRingu	yuRpot, thaynkula (=tall)	
<i>Yota</i>	wikilupka, turtjilupka	matjingkala, tjiRingkawa, kernyawa	tjuRungana	muna
<i>Yabula</i>		tjiRingkawik		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kukaRangka	naRawanyo	kinyaRo (=tall)	munhuwa
<i>Pallang</i>	nganpapuwa	naRa		
<i>Gippsland</i>	kuwaak, kukokaRak	mlangpitj		muna, nyin

⁸⁵ The English word was borrowed from languages in NSW such as Wiradjuri **guuguubarra**.

⁸⁶ 'Long' elicits a variety of 'equivalents' including 'tall'.

⁸⁷ Similar forms are common in NSW: Yuwaalaraay **munhi**, Wiradjuri **muunhu**, Gamilaraay **munyi**, etc.

⁸⁸ On the basis of cognates in other languages this word would appear to be literally 'lightning and thunder'.

	<i>magpie</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man, old</i>	<i>man, young</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kurruki	wungi, wuthungi	nharrampin	
<i>Ledji</i>		wurtungi	ngaRampin	kulkung, pala(R)tji, tininuR
<i>Wadi SH</i>		wurtungi	ngaRampin	kulkurn
<i>Wadi P</i>		wuungi	pukungi, pukalki	paitu
<i>Wemba</i>	kurrukuk	peng, kuli, ⁸⁹ wuthu	nyarrampən ⁹⁰	kulkurn
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurruk	peng, wutju	nyarrampin	kulkurn
<i>Tjap</i>	kuRuk	kuli, pang	ngaRampin, mati kuli	kulkurn
<i>Djadja</i>	kuRuRk	kuli, pang	ngaRempin	kulku(r)n
<i>Bung</i>	towol	tRual, wawakal	kotpaRi, ngaRam-ngaRam	papatha, muRungkal
<i>Wannon</i>	kaRi	kuloyn	ngalanga, portpip	kulkun, nguith-nguith-maR
<i>Warr</i>	kiRi	maaR ⁹¹	ngalang, ngaRam K	nguin-nguitj-maR
<i>Colac</i>	koRoRo	thaRong, montel	pinitjandeRang	
<i>Watha</i>	paRwang	kuli	ngaRawil	kulkun, kulkul-kuli, kurt-kurt-kuli
<i>Woi</i>	paRawarn, paRawuRung	kuliyn	wikapil (old)	yan-yan
<i>Thagung</i>	paRawang	kuliyn	thaynkula (tall)	yan-yan
<i>Yota</i>		yiyiR, yenpen	thaumunga	panyupka, tinta(R)ka, malnika
<i>Yabula</i>		pau		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kuRin-kingka	tjapa	tjiRipong	makutjuwa 'youth', yuwaRu 'boy'
<i>Pallang</i>	payaRu	tjeRi	matika	yuwaRu, moRoka(r)
<i>Gippsland</i>		bRa, ka(r)nai	purtayn	pRa-wit, etc.

⁸⁹ Compare forms such as **kuRi** along the NSW coast.

⁹⁰ For the form given here compare Dharuk *ngarombai*. Other terms are **tjeRipong**, **ngunyim**, **wanyim**, **wing(k)in**, **wunwul**, **wulman**.

⁹¹ Forms such as **maRi** are found in Queensland.

	<i>moon</i>	<i>mosquito</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>mouth/lip</i>	<i>nail</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	mithien		papi	thep(i)	
<i>Ledji</i>	mitian	munayn, mowayn	papai	t(h)epi, mena	li
<i>Wadi SH</i>	mi(r)tian	muntji	papi	wuRu ⁹²	l(a)iru
<i>Wadi P</i>	tuRongoi, wayn.kapai	muntji	kornu, kukui	wuRu(ngi)	
<i>Wemba</i>	mithien, waynwil	liri	pap(i), kuingkurr	tjarp, wurru	lerri
<i>Wimmera</i>	mitjiin	kiRk-kiRk	pap	tjarp	lirri
<i>Tjap</i>	yim	kiRk-kiRk, liRi	pap	wuRu	liRit
<i>Djadja</i>	yim	liRi	pap	wuRu	litji
<i>Bung</i>	purtpuy, tun-ngum, nyaRak	ketjo, kipa, muno-eRp	ngati, pap(u)	lo, kan-	li
<i>Wannon</i>	paRmpuk, thangkit	kituk, maRokaRa	nyiRang	wuRung, ngulang	piRiyn ⁹³
<i>Warr</i>	kurmtaRung K, yayaRa PW, paRanyanin K, , taRo PW	kiRk-kiRk K, maRwang(k)il P W	nyiRangai K, neRang PW	wuRung K, ngulang	piRiyn
<i>Colac</i>	pa(r)t-pa(r)t		papa	wuRu	
<i>Watha</i>	yim	nguya-nguya	ngartang	wuRu	t(h)iRip
<i>Woi</i>	mirmian, yampuk	kukuk	papa	wuRu(ng)	thiRip
<i>Thagung</i>	mirmian, yampuk	kukuk	papa	wuRu(ng)	thiRip
<i>Yota</i>	yuRi, yonggatja	pitha	kanha, napo	kata, wuRu	tilpan
<i>Yabula</i>	yuRi	puRutj	ngakalam	wuRu	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	wuRayu, paRaRu	kiRithu	papa	niwa. lenthewa	
<i>Pallang</i>	yuwaRa	molala, pita	pap	theRa	tiRiwa
<i>Gippsland</i>	weyn, ngaRang	tirtik, nyuwan	yakan	kath	thakeR

⁹² Gamilaraay (NSW) **wuru** 'throat', Wiradjuri **wuurruu**.

⁹³ **Pirri** is widespread in Lake Eyre Basin (Hercus pers.com.)

	<i>neck</i>	<i>nose</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>pelican</i>	<i>possum</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	ngani-	thinti	kiaka	pathangal	wilengi
<i>Ledji</i>	kuRinti	tjantji	kiapi	partangil, pulungal	wilangi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kumtu, tjakumtu 'throat'	tjantj[i]	kayap, yuwaya	partangal	wilangi
<i>Wadi P</i>	tulukanti 'throat'	tjanthi	yetna	ninanguRi ⁹⁴	panthenti
<i>Wemba</i>	kurn, nyani	karr	kayap, kepin	ninanguR	wile, pana 'ringtail'
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurn, nyani	karr	kayap	patjingal	wile
<i>Tjap</i>	kurn, nyani	ka(R)	kayap	patjangal	wili
<i>Djadja</i>	kurn	kaR	kayap	paRang(k)al	wila
<i>Bung</i>	kurn, kurn-tjawiRi 'throat'	kapu, kawu ⁹⁵	wanthu	paRangal	kuRamu
<i>Wannon</i>	kurn, nanin, ngalum, takit-nyaan ⁹⁶	kapung	kayap	paRangal	kuRamuk
<i>Warr</i>	ka(r)t, namin, ngalum, tala(R)k, yan	kapung	kayap K, kayapa PW	kartpiRap K	kuRamuk
<i>Colac</i>	kon, n(h)ani	kang		muRwonkel	pungu
<i>Watha</i>	kurn, nyaning	kang	kui-moyl, kuin-moyt	partangal	walert
<i>Woi</i>	kurn, thalapi-kurn 'throat'	kang	kanpu	wandjil	walert
<i>Thagung</i>		kang	kup(tun)	wandjil	walert
<i>Yota</i>	ngu/atan, ta(R)n(g)kaka, tjia	kawu	iyawa	katin, thailipna	puna, patja
<i>Yabula</i>		kawu	waRangayn	kaRikart	tumpul
<i>Dhudhu</i>	pilitjua, nyanta	thintiwa		kulaikuli	tjawa
<i>Pallang</i>	wurr	nga	ka(Re)ti	kawati	paRa
<i>Gippsland</i>	thuluyt, nyanin, kuRek	kung	kut(o)pan	puRan, pRang	wathan

⁹⁴ Yitha-Yitha **nenangku**.

⁹⁵ Hercus notes **kap-** is found on the lower Murray. See also Hercus (1989:56).

⁹⁶ The Wannon and Warrnambool sources contain a confusing number of tokens. There is some uncertainty about which terms mean 'throat' as opposed to 'neck'.

	<i>quick</i>	<i>rainbow</i>	<i>rib</i>	<i>run</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	lirrka	tarrkuwil, kumangi	larning-	wuwatha
<i>Ledji</i>				papinan
<i>Wadi SH</i>	liRka, kiRki perting		leningi	wiRwi
<i>Wadi P</i>				waiwi
<i>Wemba</i>	kungayi, werrki	pampantilang	larngi	wirra, wirr(ə)ka
<i>Wimmera</i>			laan?	
<i>Tjap</i>		thaRaka wuRwuR ⁶⁵	lanyi-	piRpa
<i>Djadja</i>		thaRaki wuRwuR ⁹⁷	la(r)ning	wiRwi-
<i>Bung</i>	panpankaya, wungkunangu	tuRayn	yiyiR, yiRang	w[i]Ra-
<i>Wannon</i>	peRip, yokinpalin	tuRaam	yiyiR	wiR(e)ka, taRonin
<i>Warr</i>	maRat, maRaRan, wanguRa K, wetkurtin P	tha(r)n paRot K, thaRot paRut, tuRan, paRinanin	yiyiR K	wiR(e)ka P, kaku-
<i>Colac</i>			koRinyiti	palakala, molokana
<i>Watha</i>	yuwapa, ko(R)me	tjeRm	(nyil-i) limin	
<i>Woi</i>			tarnin	
<i>Thagung</i>			tarnin	
<i>Yota</i>	pirretj, puRketja, lawithema, wanyuwula	neRanoRma?	kangurt	yama
<i>Yabula</i>				paninya?
<i>Dhudhu</i>	weRayn, wang(k)uRela	kulpiawa		pinilai
<i>Pallang</i>				pona(r)te, etc.
<i>Gippsland</i>	wethuR, kuRthat-kuRthat	wiRakalanti	ngaRpuk	wintan, rinthan

⁹⁷ 'Arm of sky'.

	<i>see</i>	<i>shadow</i>	<i>shield</i>	<i>short</i>	<i>sing</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	nhanga, nhakata	ngaki			wangila, waingkilatha
<i>Ledji</i>	ngawa		kiyami		
<i>Wadi SH</i>	n(h)anga		keRami, maRka(R)	tulonyi	waRangka
<i>Wadi P</i>	n(h)atji		maRkantji		
<i>Wemba</i>	nyaka-	ngak	kar'm, malkarr		nyarrapa
<i>Wimmera</i>	nyanga-, nyaka	ngak	kirram, malkarr		
<i>Tjap</i>	ngawa, ngaki	ngak	malka	murt, mulup	ying- ⁹⁸
<i>Djadja</i>	ngak-		malka, kiRamal	murt	
<i>Bung</i>	ngawaya, n(h)aa	wul	malka, kirram, etc.	mu(r)t	niwiya, ngaiwin-, nuRipa-
<i>Wannon</i>	n(h)ak-	wul PW, ngajui K	malka		liR[i]tpitj-, yanyin
<i>Warr</i>	n(h)awa- K, n(g)aki PW		malka, kiRam K	mulunit, mampit	liRpin
<i>Colac</i>	nitjula-, nika-		malka, kiRam	murt	
<i>Watha</i>	nya-	mula	malka, kiRam	murt	ying-
<i>Woi</i>	nganga	mula, yunak	malka		
<i>Thagung</i>	nganga				
<i>Yota</i>	nhanha, natji	mul(a)wa	malkaR, monta	thulupka	payi-
<i>Yabula</i>	nakal		palart		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	nhaka	maRayako	malkaR, piRkanpo	kapalo (=low)	ngatjpai
<i>Pallang</i>	nhaka		piRkanpo	(ng)omepaRme	ka(r)to
<i>Gippsland</i>	thaka	ngawuk	pameRuk, turnmang	tukal	waytpal-

⁹⁸ Western Desert *yinka*, *wara*.

	<i>sister, elder</i>	<i>sister, younger</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>skin</i>	<i>sky</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	thathai	perrati	ngengkatha	mith-	tirrili
<i>Ledji</i>	tjatji	mianaki	ngewa-, nyenga	mitji	
<i>Wadi SH</i>		miani, minu	nganya, ngengka	mitj, loko	tiRili
<i>Wadi P</i>	tatui	mai, mikana, minuku	ngayangu	luko	
<i>Wemba</i>	tjatji	kute-	nyengka	mitj	tirril, wur-wur, tjarrang
<i>Wimmera</i>	tjatji	kutuk	ngenya, nganga	mitj	tirrel
<i>Tjap</i>	tjatji	ku(R)tuk	puRa-, ngenga-?	mitj	wuR-wuR
<i>Djadja</i>	tjatj(uk)	kutuk		mitj	wuR-wuR
<i>Bung</i>	tjati	nheRiR	nyiw(a)ia, (ng?)inga	murn	
<i>Wannon</i>	kakai	kokiaRa	ninika-	mitj	mumpul, mumpung 'cloud', wuR-wuR
<i>Warr</i>	kakai	koko-hiR (sic)	(N)inga- K, kupa	murn, mitj PW	mumung ⁹⁹
<i>Colac</i>	tatong(g)et	peRmpoRet, pang(k)et (=?)	pat-ka-		pulutnu-maRng 'big cloud'
<i>Watha</i>	tatjaRang	paRmpaRa	puRe, munkuRe	mitj	wuR-wuR
<i>Woi</i>			ngalampa	thaap, maRok	
<i>Thagung</i>			ngalampa	thaap, maRok	
<i>Yota</i>		kitjika, thatjip, putjika, paanyuip ¹⁰⁰	katju, kanu, kawui	wata, wawatja	tatala, yuRatha ¹⁰¹
<i>Yabula</i>	ngaingeRam (=?)	thatham	makuR		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	mantakuni (=?)	paRinika	nginggai	waanu	
<i>Pallang</i>	tayika		kaRati	wata	tetha, yuwivila
<i>Gippsland</i>			nyi-, panengin?	yuwun	nguR(u)t, waRan/k

⁹⁹ See 'cloud'.

¹⁰⁰ All unspecified as to 'elder' versus 'younger'.

¹⁰¹ See 'cloud'.

	<i>sleep</i>	<i>small</i>	<i>smoke</i>	<i>snake</i>	<i>speak</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kumpa(tha)	panthingi	puyuti	karni	yama-, yamkatha
<i>Ledji</i>	kumpa	pa(r)nikam	puRingi	kan(y)i	yama
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kumpa	pan(maR)u	puRingi, poto	kani	lata-, weRi-, kaya
<i>Wadi P</i>	kumpa	paitayn	pu(r)ti	ka(r)ni	
<i>Wemba</i>	kumpa	witheyuk, martuk, ¹⁰² tulu	purt ¹⁰³	kurnwil	wurreka, kiya
<i>Wimmera</i>	kumpa, toRa-	parn, tulu	puriyn	kurnwil, kummil	wurreka, kiya
<i>Tjap</i>	kumpa	wartip, watjip	purt, puRi	kurnmil	wuRak-
<i>Djadja</i>	kumpa, nguRakul	wanhimuk	purt	kurnmil	wuRek-
<i>Bung</i>	luma, kuma, wi-	muRuki	purluyn	kuRang	la-
<i>Wannon</i>	yuwat-	pukorn, kurtuwi, watawit	thuwung	kuRang	pRaipangnal, teromin
<i>Warr</i>	yuwa	kurnong K, kurni PW, kuniyi PW	thuwung	kuRang	laka-
<i>Colac</i>	kalaka	weRangayt		kanlang	lampa-, ngonon-
<i>Watha</i>	kumpa	nganyaki	purt	kurnmil	ki-la-, ki-ya-
<i>Woi</i>	yimu, ngaikul, karnampa	wayipu, wayikuRk	purt	kurnmil	thumpa
<i>Thagung</i>	karnampa	wayikuRk	purt	kurnmil	thumpa
<i>Yota</i>	nanyupuk	yinganika	thonga	kona, tuRel, takintjua	lotjpa
<i>Yabula</i>	pirtilong		thonga	kono	loytpa
<i>Dhudhu</i>	nguRa-nguRa, nyiminye	panyangatji	thumpapa	tjutjua	thuRkwai
<i>Pallang</i>	nguRa-nguRa	ngampakanya, payumuna	thuu	tjuyu	ngomipaRo
<i>Gippsland</i>	permtin	thali	thun, ¹⁰⁴ pawerndang	thuRung	thang-, thung-

¹⁰² Possibly *mirtuk*.

¹⁰³ Clear cognates are elusive. Compare Parnkalla (SA) *puiyu*, Baagandji (NSW) *pundi*, Awabakal (NSW) *poito*.

¹⁰⁴ Hercus records *tun* in Dardi-Dardi.

	<i>spirit/ghost</i>	<i>star</i>	<i>stomach</i>	<i>stone</i>	<i>sun</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	pungangi, puwik-	turti ¹⁰⁵	pili[ngi]	kuthapi	nhawingi ¹⁰⁶
<i>Ledji</i>		turti	witjopi, yami	maki ¹⁰⁷	nyawingi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	pakiyn, ngurtangi	turti	wutju[pi]	maki	(na)nhawi, yuRoka
<i>Wadi P</i>		turti	pela-	matji, kantoki	nhayingi
<i>Wemba</i>	murrup, pungkantij	turt	pili, wutjup	la(r)	nyawi
<i>Wimmera</i>	murrup, purk	turt	pili, wutjup	kutjap	nyawi
<i>Tjap</i>	muRup	turt	pili, wanya	laa	nyawi
<i>Djada</i>	muRup, kutjel	turt	puRingkup, putj	laarr	nyawi
<i>Bung</i>		puntjil, taman-taman, kaRantha	puli, puwi	maRi	kaRo
<i>Wannon</i>	muRup	kakathiRing ¹⁰⁸	puluyn	maRe	thiRing
<i>Warr</i>	muRup, etc.	wutjuk K, kaka-thiRing K, minkil	thukung	maRi	thiRing K, nganong PW
<i>Colac</i>		kaRat-kaRat, ngalim(ayn)		tRi	naa
<i>Watha</i>	muRup, muRum	turt-paRam	tung	laa	miRi
<i>Woi</i>	muRup, naRun	turt	putj, piling, papkurn	laang, muyidjiR ¹⁰⁹	ngawiyn, ngaimai B
<i>Thagung</i>		turt	putj, papkurn	muyidjiR	ngaimai
<i>Yota</i>	pika, etc.	turta	puli, mona	iyoRka, punga	yuRingka
<i>Yabula</i>		turtu	potha, pontho	mopo	wo(R)ko
<i>Dhudhu</i>		tjimpoa	panthaRa	tuRupa	nawayu
<i>Pallang</i>		tjimpa	muRang(k)a, ianaru	punga	winpinpi, kunta
<i>Gippsland</i>	mRatj	pRi(V)l??	pulen	walang	wurriyn

¹⁰⁵ Straightforward cognates are hard to find, but note **dhurdu**, **dhuru** in the Mari languages (Q) and Mayali (NT) **dirt** 'moon'.

¹⁰⁶ Dhurga (NSW) **nowa**, Narinyari (SA) **nang(g)i**, Ngulubulu (Q) **nyangi** 'moon'.

¹⁰⁷ Yitha-Yitha **maak**.

¹⁰⁸ Compare **thiRing** 'sun'.

¹⁰⁹ See *tomahawk*.

	<i>swan</i>	<i>swim</i>	<i>tail</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>thigh</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kumwarra	wirra	withang[i]	mangkatha, ¹¹⁰ kanakatha	
<i>Ledji</i>	kunowang				paRap[i], tanti
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kunuwaR	wiRia	piRk[i], wirtmum[i]	mana	kaRip[i]
<i>Wadi P</i>	thanapuki, thanaputj				kaRipi, poyap[i], kaingi
<i>Wemba</i>	kunuwar	wirra	pirrkuk	thirnta	karəp
<i>Wimmera</i>	kunuwar	wirra, tjipa	pirrkuk		kaRip
<i>Tjap</i>	kunuwaR	yawa	piRkuk	mana, mutjaka	kaRip
<i>Djadja</i>	kunuwaRa	wiRaka			kaRip, mulu
<i>Bung</i>	kunuwaRa, miRanguRu	yungk(a)ia	wuRum	mana	kaRip, pRani, pRam
<i>Wannon</i>	kunawaRa		wiRang, thaRath	mana	kaRip
<i>Warr</i>	kunuwaRa	yawin K, yanta, yana	wiRang	mana, wampa-	kaRip, pim K
<i>Colac</i>					kaRi-
<i>Watha</i>	kunuwaRa	yulwaRa	toR	mutjaka-	kaRip, kaRim
<i>Woi</i>	kunuwaRa	yawa, yaRaka		kunga	tjiRong/tjaRang ¹¹¹
<i>Thagung</i>	kunuwaRa	yawa		kunga	tjiRong/tjaRang
<i>Yota</i>	tarnapna, maalya, payamal ¹¹²	yaRapak	kutjaika, nakin (=penis)	mana	muna, towo
<i>Yabula</i>	malai	maRitjang			
<i>Dhudhu</i>	maliwa	pangkai	tjawa	ngantakai	
<i>Pallang</i>	mayiwa	yakathi			manta
<i>Gippsland</i>	kitai	wiRa-	wRek, taRangkal	kartpa	tjaRayn

¹¹⁰ Similar forms widespread.

¹¹¹ **THarra** is widespread.

¹¹² Compare **paRaimal** 'emu' in Woiwurrung etc. and note Gamilaraay (NSW) **barayamal** 'swan' and Yuwaaliyay (NSW) **baayimal** 'swan'.

	<i>thirsty</i>	<i>throw</i>	<i>today</i>	<i>tomahawk</i>	<i>tomorrow</i>
<i>Madhi</i>		yungka(tha)-		pathiki	waingurru
<i>Ledji</i>	kunpuna-		kalwuR, taitikin, tartikima	patiki	murtuRu
<i>Wadi SH</i>	konam(i)a	muRuma	kili	parti	mammamapu
<i>Wadi P</i>	konamu/a		(tjali) naiki/a	thayini ¹¹³	tayayu
<i>Wemba</i>	pangka	larpa	kiluwitj	tirr	perpuk
<i>Wimmera</i>	pemgkunya	yungka		patjik	
<i>Tjap</i>	ku(r)nman	yungka	nhawiyu	patjik, pa(r)tik	peRpo-
<i>Djadja</i>			nhawiyu-mong	paRik	peRpi
<i>Bung</i>	kumunayn	yanta, yungka	kirtu	mutjiR, ¹¹⁴ partpartkurt	kalipa
<i>Wannon</i>	kurt nang-, etc.	yanta	kaRumpa P, ting(k)alen P ?	partpartkurt	tungkata
<i>Warr</i>	kurt nan(a)	yanta	ma(ng)katapa	mutjiR, partpartkurt, kaRkiyn	malangipa,tungkati
<i>Colac</i>			naliang taRawart	pa(r)tpa(r)tkot	peRipantji
<i>Watha</i>	kurt nang-	yung(k)a-	miRiyu ¹¹⁵	kaRkayn, kalpalingkuRk	yiRam-nyu, yiRam-tju
<i>Woi</i>	kunpuni	puimpa, yuma-	yaling-pu	kaRkiyn, muRing, kalpaling	yiRam-poi, puypuRuyn
<i>Thagung</i>	kunpuni			kaRkiyn	
<i>Yota</i>	thaanga	yunga	kanang(k)o(R), imilang	ngana, tatjimpa	paRpaRik
<i>Yabula</i>			kaniwa	nakayak	paRipaRi
<i>Dhudhu</i>	tjakenawa	yeRiatha	nyinyanga	mutiwa	ngang(k)aRa
<i>Pallang</i>		yunkathi	ya(Re)ntuka	nganti	yuluth-lu
<i>Gippsland</i>	kwan(tu)	pRapaRa, pitawa		kuyan, theloat	

¹¹³ Yitha-Yitha **thaRiyn**.

¹¹⁴ See 'stone'.

¹¹⁵ See 'sun'.

	<i>tongue</i>	<i>tooth</i>	<i>track</i> ¹¹⁶	<i>two</i>	<i>urine</i>	<i>walk</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	thalingi	liangi ¹¹⁷	limpu	puletha		yingatha
<i>Ledji</i>	thalingi	liang(i)	tjinanu			yana-, yawa
<i>Wadi SH</i>	tjaling[i]	liangi		puli, pulayt		yana, yawa
<i>Wadi P</i>	thalengi	n(h)aRoki	thinangi	pulatja		yana-, yangka-
<i>Wemba</i>	tjaling	lia	paring	puletja	kir	yangka
<i>Wimmera</i>	tjaling	lia	paring	puletj	kire	yana-, yangka-
<i>Tjap</i>		lia	paRing	pulatj	ki(R)i	yan-
<i>Djadja</i>	tjali	lia	paRing	pulatj	kiRi	yangka, kaRimpin
<i>Bung</i>	thali	thanga	waRi, thina	pulayt ¹¹⁸	thalupang	yan-, yawia
<i>Wannon</i>	thalayn	thangang	wuRuyn, thinang	pulayt		yana-
<i>Warr</i>	thalayn	thangang	tharn	pulatja	kiRng	yana-, puRpa- PW
<i>Colac</i>	thala	miRi		pulatuk	kiRi	yanya-, yaRana-
<i>Watha</i>	thalang	liang	ka(r)ntoR	pulayt		yani-
<i>Woi</i>	tjatang	liang	paRing	pulapil, pintjiRu	palk(a)	yana-, tuwi, tjitu
<i>Thagung</i>	tjatang	liang		pulapil	palk(a)	yana-
<i>Yota</i>		tiRa	tapuRa, tana, muku-tjina	pulapul, pulthupul	kumwung ¹¹⁹	yanyupa-, yaRu
<i>Yabula</i>		taRawil		plathiR		yan-
<i>Dhudhu</i>	thalaynpa	nayu	kaRika 'path'		tjiwa	yakamila, payilai
<i>Pallang</i>	t(h)aRa	ngangaRu?	pantjan	polithap		yanapi
<i>Gippsland</i>	tjalayn	nga(r)ntak		pulaman	werrek	yangan, yanin(g)

¹¹⁶ Some of the words given for 'track' are the words for 'foot'. It is not certain whether the entries here mean 'footprint' or 'path' or both.

¹¹⁷ Lia is probably cognate with widespread forms such as **yiRa** and **tiRa**.

¹¹⁸ There is also **puwayt** with lenition of the lateral, and also **pulak** with a final **k** in lieu of **tj/yt**. This alternation is found in the alternants **Bunganditj** and **Buwandik**.

¹¹⁹ Widespread **kumpu**.

	<i>water</i>	<i>what</i> ¹²⁰	<i>where</i>	<i>whiskers</i>	<i>who</i>	<i>wife</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kathini	nhangi, minhi	wintha	ngarra-	winhangu	mathim
<i>Ledji</i>	ka(r)tini, ka(r)tani		wintja	ngaRangi		matuni
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kayini, kayani	nganyu, nyange	wintja, winthala	ngani ¹²¹	winyaR	martum 'spouse'
<i>Wadi P</i>	kayini, tanyi			nyani-, ninini		nupu 'spouse'
<i>Wemba</i>	kat(h)En	nyanya	wintja	ngani	winyarr	mathim
<i>Wimmera</i>	katjin	nyanya	wintja	ngani	winyarr	matjim
<i>Tjap</i>	katjin	nya	wintja	nganyi	winya	matjim, nata-, tjap
<i>Djada</i>	wanyaRam	nyango	wintja	ngini, nga(r)ni	winya	maRam
<i>Bung</i>	paRi ¹²²	n(g)an	na	ngarlangarni	nganu	mala
<i>Wannon</i>	paRitj, kuwantam	nana	wintala	ngaRayn		malang
<i>Warr</i>	paRitj	ngan(y)a	wuntha K, wintha PW	ngaRayn	winya K, ngaRa	malang
<i>Colac</i>	kan		want(h)along	ngan-, bong		
<i>Watha</i>	ngupiyt (<'drink')	winya	wiya	ngaRiyn ngarnda	wela	lanapun, nganapun
<i>Woi</i>	paayn	winha	wintha	ngaRin	winhaRup	pirnpan W, winya B
<i>Thagung</i>	paayn	nganying	intha	nganyin	inhaRup	
<i>Yota</i>	wala	minhe	wanhal, warrka	yaRing ¹²³	ngani	pulatjeRu
<i>Yabula</i>	pana ¹²⁴	minhe	wanhal		nganti	pantjaReReko
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kantha	minyua	thawuna, walu	yaRan(g)pa	nganka, nganpantu	pulatjeRu
<i>Pallang</i>	waRa		wantha	yaRa(na)		pantjaReReko
<i>Gippsland</i>	yarn	nanma	wunman	yaayn, yaran	nganinte	

¹²⁰ The interrogative roots *ngan-*, *wiNHa*, *wiNHTha* (locative of *wiNHa*) and *miNHa* are widespread.

¹²¹ Pitta-Pitta (Q) and Diyari (SA) *nganka*. See also the entries for 'neck'.

¹²² Hercus (pers.com.) notes *PaRi* throughout Thura-Yura languages (SA); also Pitta-Pitta (Q) *paripi* 'river'.

¹²³ Wiradjuri (NSW) *yaRayn*, Gamilaraay (NSW) *yaray*.

¹²⁴ Djabugay (Q) *pana*.

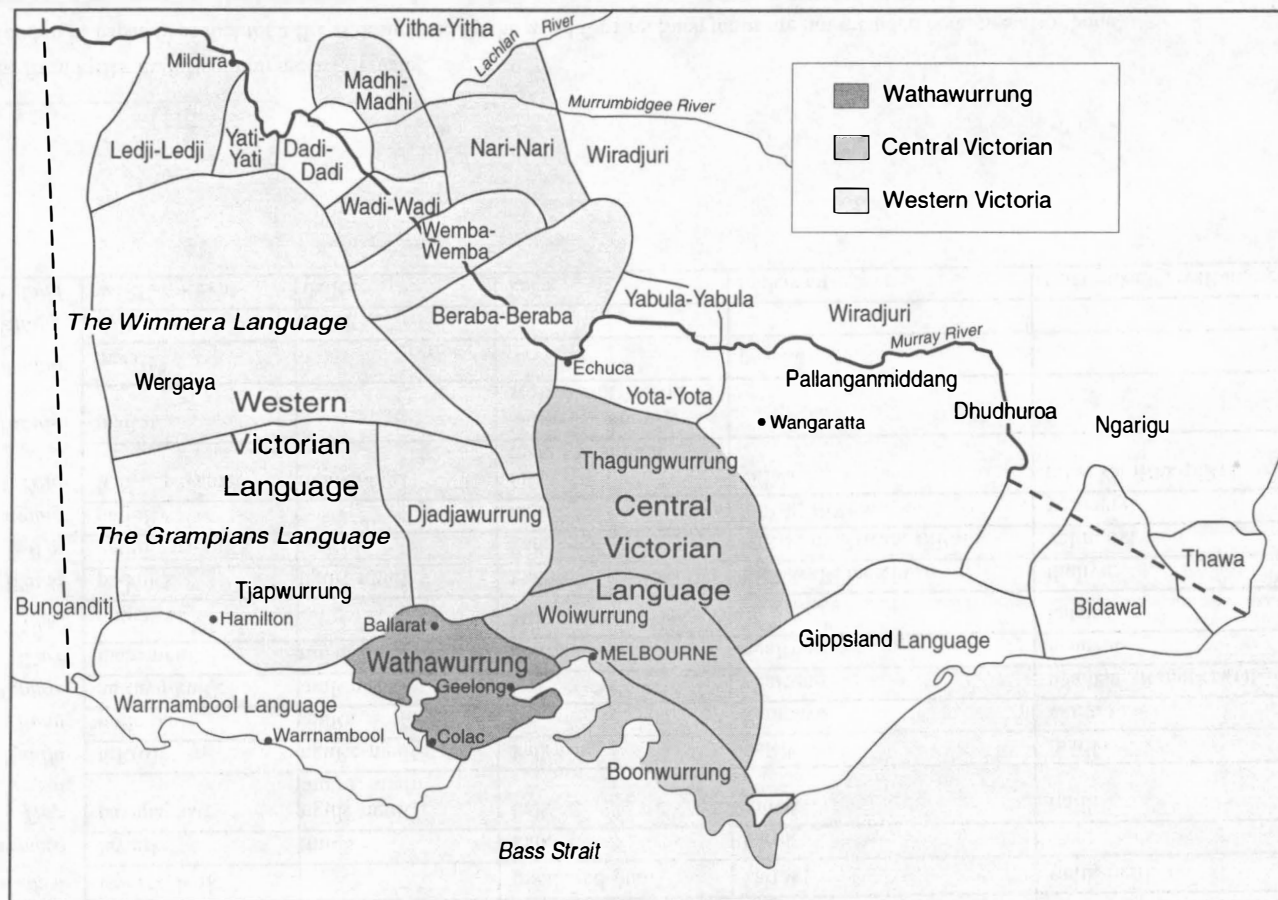
	<i>woman</i> ¹²⁵	<i>wombat</i>	<i>wood</i> ¹²⁶	<i>woomera</i>	<i>yesterday</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	layurr		kalki	karriki	kila nhawiki 'that day'
<i>Ledji</i>	layu			kaRiki	tjilaluk
<i>Wadi SH</i>	layuRi			keRi, koRi	kaRalko
<i>Wadi P</i>	layuRki			tjayeki	kalko
<i>Wemba</i>	layurrk, lerrk		piyal 'red gum'	karrak	tjelik-tjelik
<i>Wimmera</i>	layurrk	mutja	kalk	karrik	
<i>Tjap</i>	paynpaynku	nguR-nguR, mutja, miam	kalk	kaRik	tjaliki
<i>Djada</i>	tuR(o)j	nguRe-nguRe	kalk	yeRik	thaliki
<i>Bung</i>	purle-purle	muRa		kumpayn	wurtu
<i>Wannon</i>	neRayn-kuRk	muRayn	lurt	ngaRung	ngankat, tRang(k)a(r)t
<i>Warr</i>	thanampuL	miam K	wurnkuit	ngaRung	ngankat
<i>Colac</i>	nutnuwet ¹²⁷		kuRuRuk		kalata
<i>Watha</i>	pa-kuRk	nguR-nguR	kalk	waR-waR, maRiwan	thaliyu
<i>Woi</i>	patjuR, pa-kuRk	waRiyn	kalk	kaRik, maRiwan, tjiRam	yalinguyt
<i>Thagung</i>	patjuR		kalk	kaRik, tjiRam	yalinguyt
<i>Yota</i>	winya, payapia	mum yanga	muta, 'tratyola', manuka 'branch'	yulwa	pikauka, iRak-piRak
<i>Yabula</i>	maRai		kalowik 'wood', woRokolik 'wood'		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	mala ¹²⁸			payuka	
<i>Pallang</i>	tjaRi	nawaRa			
<i>Gippsland</i>	wuRkat, Rukat	nhaRut	kalak	maRiwan	(mal)pukang, waRan, ngintawa

¹²⁵ The form **kuRk** in this column means 'female'.

¹²⁶ Wood in its capacity as fuel for a fire is designated by the word for fire. Such terms are not included here. See also 'bone'.

¹²⁷ This looks like an error. The form given may be a second person pronoun.

¹²⁸ See **mala** 'wife'.



MAP 1: APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF VICTORIAN LANGUAGES

WATHAWURRUNG THE LANGUAGE OF THE GEELONG-BALLARAT AREA

BARRY J. BLAKE, IAN D. CLARK AND SHARNTHI H. KRISHNA-PILLAY

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 ORIENTATION

The territory of the Wathawurrung ran from the coast around Geelong inland to include Beaufort and Ballarat (see Map 2). There are 135 spellings of the name to be found in the literature (Clark 1990:309ff.). The spelling **Wathawurrung**, which we are adopting here, is well founded. Other legitimate spellings are *Wadhawurrung*, *Watjawurrung* and *Wadjawurrung* since there was presumably no phonemic distinction between **th** and **dh**, and it seems that there was no phonemic distinction between the dental stop (**th** or **dh**) and the palatal stop (**tj** or **dj**). It is possible that the second vowel is **u**, but heard as an unstressed schwa. There are a few spellings with **i** in the first syllable (*Witherwerong*, etc.), but these are outnumbered and the **i** may reflect the raising of the vowel before the following laminal stop (**th/dh** or **tj/dj**). There are also spellings that lack the final **-ng**. These are probably legitimate. Some disyllabic words, including **wurru(ng)**, ‘mouth’, ‘lips’, ‘language’, which is the second element in the name, appear with and without the final **-ng**. A number of Victorian languages are based on the word for ‘no’ and Koenig (1933:80) reports that the first element in Wathawurrung is *witto* ‘no’, i.e. the Wathawurrung were the people who had *witto* as the word for ‘no’. This is probably correct, but the words used for ‘no’ in nineteenth century Wathawurrung were **borrak** and **nyala**.¹

Wathawurrung is a **Kulin language** in the terminology of Schmidt (1919); that is, it is related to the Central Victorian language, the Western Victorian language and the Colac language. The principal dialects of the Central Victorian language are Woiwurrung (from around Melbourne to the Great Dividing Range) and Thagungwurrung (north of the Divide). The nearest and most relevant dialects of the Western Victorian language are Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung (see Map 1). Percentages of common vocabulary between these four dialects and Wathawurrung are shown below. Also shown is the Colac language, which was almost surrounded by Wathawurrung, and Wathawurrung’s other eastern neighbour, the Warmambool language, represented by the Djargurd-wurrung dialect. Map 2, which is largely based on Clark (1990), shows *Gadubanud* as the western neighbour of Wathawurrung along the coast. There is no language information on this group, but indirect

¹ Koenig’s notes on the *Wito-wu-rrong* *Aboriginals* also appear in Gregory, Gregory and Koenig (1985:3), where *witto* appears as *wito*. There is presumably an earlier source that we have not located.

evidence allows a clear inference that Gadubanud was not particularly close to Wathawurrung and was probably part of the Warrnambool Language.²

Wathawurrung with	Woiwurrung (Central Victoria)	46
	Thagungwurrung (Central Victoria)	39
	Tjapwurrung (Western Victoria)	40
	Djadjawurrung (Western Victoria)	37
	Colac	34
	Djargurdwurrung (Warrnambool)	30

1.2 HISTORY

Clark (1990) has reconstructed 25 Wathawurrung clans and one patriline. Wathawurrung clans shared a patrilineal form of moiety organisation with their eastern and northern neighbours. Accordingly clans were either *waa* (crow) or *bunjil* (eaglehawk). Wathawurrung people were known to marry Tjapwurrung, Gulidjan,³ and Djargurdwurrung people, who adhered to matrilineal *gabadj* (black cockatoo) and *grugidj* (white cockatoo) moieties.

The Wathawurrung living near the coast would have encountered Europeans as early as 1802, if not earlier, when John Murray charted parts of Port Phillip Bay including Indented Head, and later that year when Mathew Flinders landed and led a small party to climb the You Yangs. In 1803 a British settlement was established briefly at Sorrento on the eastern side of Port Phillip Bay. Some convicts escaped from the settlement and one of them, William Buckley, made his way around the bay into the territory of the Wathawurrung. They took him in and he lived with them until Europeans began permanent settlements in the area in 1835. In that year a party from Tasmania, headed by John Batman, came ashore and met a group of Wathawurrung near Point Wilson. Batman's party then moved north where Batman 'bought' the site of Melbourne from leaders of the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung. He later produced a deed purporting to record the purchase of the Bellarine Peninsula from these same clan chiefs, but the Bellarine Peninsula was in Wathawurrung territory (Clark 1990:280). Batman returned to Tasmania leaving a small party at Indented Head. There was friendly contact with the Wathawurrung of the area and it was at this point that William Buckley emerged and made himself known to the newcomers. After the Port Phillip settlement (Melbourne) was established later that year, Buckley was eventually hired as an interpreter.

In 1836 the Reverend Joseph Orton, minister in charge of the Wesleyan Methodists in Australia, stationed in Tasmania, visited the Port Phillip district with a view to establishing a permanent mission to the Aborigines. He was one of those who found Buckley useful in communicating with the Wathawurrung. It seems that his own ignorance of the language was no barrier to his being able to declare that it was 'meagre' (Orton to Wesleyan Missionary Society, August 1836; in Cannon, ed. 1982:85-86):

² See Krishna-Pillay (1996) for a dictionary of the Warrnambool language.

³ **Gulidjan**, also *Kolidjan*, *Kolijon* etc. are the people of the Colac area and speakers of what we refer to here as the 'Colac language'.

Upon my arrival at Port Phillip messengers were despatched to invite the natives to the settlement, which afforded me an opportunity of seeing and associating with considerable numbers. During my stay I spent a portion of almost every evening with them in the bush surrounding the settlement, where they had encamped, which gave me favourable opportunities for observation and communication in which I was occasionally assisted by Buckley who acted as my interpreter. Their language appears to be exceedingly meagre—one word, accompanied with a variety of intonations and gestures, is used to express various meanings.

Their general disposition does not appear to be ferocious—in this respect they have comparatively little of the savage in their character. They appear to be remarkably docile. I always found them anxious to obtain information on all points which were suggested to their minds, and they are equally disposed to communicate. And though my stay with them was unavoidably short, yet before my departure, by the imperfect use of words which I had acquired, assisted by signs, I could communicate with them tolerably well. I made them clearly understand the object of my visit, and they frequently expressed themselves in terms of grateful approbation.

The mission was established in 1838 near the present township of Birregurra on the Birregurra-Forrest Road, between the Barwon River and the Pennyroyal Creek. It was named Buntingdale and it was operated by the Reverend Francis Tuckfield and his wife, and Reverend Benjamin Hurst. It lasted until 1848.

Buntingdale was situated in the territory of the Kolidjan or Colac tribe, at a point where the Wathawurrung, Colac and Warrnambool languages met; as Tuckfield put it, it was 'central for at least three tribes'. Tuckfield set about learning Wathawurrung and the quotation in the following passage is from Wathawurrung (Tuckfield to Wesleyan Missionary Society, 12 August 1838 in Cannon, ed. 1982:106):

With respect to our present prospects of success among the natives, of course I am not yet prepared to say but little. We must get on our own ground before we shall be able to enter properly on our work; this we shall be able to do I hope in a month or two. I have just commenced with the language. I find it rather difficult not having an interpreter. I have seen a part of three tribes and explained to them, so well as my imperfect knowledge of the language would admit, the object of my coming among them, and while talking to them about instructing their children they would frequently exclaim with acclamations of joy 'Merigig bangongen, Merigig bangongen Merigig Mr Tuckfield in gego barp quamby, borack combarling': that is, very good you very good you, we will go with you and will remain with you.⁴ I can not describe the mingled feeling of commiseration and compassionate desire for their spiritual and eternal welfare which have been in my breast on such occasions.

⁴ *Merigig* (*merridjig*) 'very good', *quamby* 'camp', 'remain', 'sleep' and *borack* (*burrak*) 'no, not' were words used in Pidgin. *Merigig* and *borack* may have originated in Wathawurrung. The first citation for *quamby* as a verb in the Australian National Dictionary is dated 1830, from before the permanent settlement of the Port Phillip District. It comes from the Hobart Town Almanack: 'This native... is said to have fallen on his knees, calling out Quamby! quamby! that is, in the native language, mercy, mercy, spare me, spare me'. It is not certain whether this *quamby* can be identified with the well documented *quamby* 'camp' (noun), 'to camp' etc., for which the A.N.D. gives a Wuywurrung and Wathawurrung etymology, namely *guwambi* 'to sleep', 'a sleeping place'. *Combarling* may be from the same root, possibly *kumba-l-iyn* 'will remain/stop', but given the preceding negative, this does not make sense. Of these other words *bangongen* is 'your(s)' rather than 'you', *gego* is 'go', and *barp* is the Tuckfield version of the widespread Kulin word for 'and'.

Tuckfield compiled a large vocabulary, but it was lost in a fire. Cary (1898:840-841) writes as follows:

In 1838 the Wesleyan Methodists commenced an aboriginal mission at Port Phillip; they established the Buntingdale Station at the source of the Barwon, and tried, unsuccessfully, to reclaim the Wod-dow-ro, Dantgurt, and Kolijon tribes. One of the missionaries first sent from England to carry on the work was Francis Tuckfield, a young Cornishman, brave and hopeful, who entered on his new life with the zeal of an enthusiast. Naturally, chilling experience somewhat lessened his ardour; but when State aid was withdrawn, and private support grew lukewarm, and when hope of success died within him, a strong sense of duty kept him at his post, and not until the Government resumed possession of the Buntingdale acres, and marked them out for public selection, did he abandon the mission. Ten of the best years of his life were spent trying to Christianise and civilise the above-mentioned tribes.

Having an aptitude for language, he soon learned the native dialects, but of his writings on the subject only a part remains. A large vocabulary was compiled in the first years of the mission, but it was unfortunately lost in a fire that destroyed the mission-house. Tuckfield himself, forced to leap out of a window, narrowly escaped with his life. His journal and copies of private letters contain a few brief remarks on the aboriginal language; but in his note-book is preserved a collection of about two hundred short sentences, some translation of Scripture, and a vocabulary of over two hundred words. By the kindness of the Tuckfield family, it has been my privilege to inspect their father's journal, letters, and note-book...

Cary published the material described in this passage. It is mostly Wathawurrung with a small amount of *Dantgurt* (Warrnambool) and *Kolijon* (Colac) material.

In 1839 George Augustus Robinson took up the position of Chief Protector of the Aborigines of the Port Phillip district. He was to be aided by four Assistant Protectors: James Dredge, Edward Stone Parker, William Thomas and Charles Sievwright. The first three were religious men, but Sievwright was an army man who had been stationed in Malta for five years and who had left with unpaid gambling debts. The Assistant Protectors were each given a district of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate: Dredge the Goulburn area north of Melbourne, Parker the Macedon area north-west of Melbourne, Thomas the Westernport district south-east of Melbourne, and Sievwright the Geelong or Western District.

On leaving Melbourne in late May 1839, Sievwright established his Protectorate station on the Barwon River, at what is now Fyansford. This site, known as 'Burnie Wallock', contained a hut that had been used by Foster Fyans, the Commissioner for Crown Lands. Sievwright remained at Burnie Wallock until February 1841, when he relocated to Kielambete run in Giraiwurrung country.⁵

In September 1839, Sievwright submitted a plan to his superior, George A. Robinson, on 'civilising' the Wathawurrung. He proposed the country to the south of the Portland-Geelong road as the best location for a homestead in his district. He also favoured the establishment of reserves for separate and distinct tribal groups, which put him at odds with Robinson, who favoured central stations that brought all tribal groups together. A

⁵ Giraiwurrung is part of the Warrnambool Language.

reserve is believed to have been formed at Bacchus Marsh sometime during the late 1840s; however, little information about it is known.

It is interesting to read Sievwright's impression of Wathawurrung (Report of 1 December 1940, quoted in Clark 1990:275):

The Wadouro, being the only tribe, with whom I have been enabled to associate, I have collected a small vocabulary of their language, during the few months I have been with them, which will give an idea of its construction...It appears to me that long practice will be necessary, to obtain the pronunciation which is nearly void of an [sic] labial articulation, being chiefly composed of lingual and guttural aspirations, which require an extreme nicety of ear, to understand in order to bring these sounds under any rule of orthography, with the hope of successfully communicating them.

There is no European language that I am acquainted with to which their pronunciation has the least analogy. Our sounds of F, S, and V are wanting, and in attempting to reduce their inarticulate sentences to writing, each may understand the sign or letter, which he may himself employ to express any sentences, or word of their language...In this respect I find it like the Maltese language, which although most copious and expressive, for oral communication is not a written language and cannot be expressed by the European alphabet (NSW Archives 4/2547).

We do not have any language data from Sievwright, but we do have some from his daughter, Mrs Davenport, which was 'collected about 1842' (see list of sources in §1.3).

With the abolition of the Aboriginal Protectorate in 1849, there followed a decade of relative government neglect of the Wathawurrung and other Victorian Aboriginal people. During this time the Wathawurrung gravitated to the townships, especially the gold diggings, and pastoral stations formed on their traditional clan estates. In 1859 the Steiglitz Reserve of 640 acres was set aside on the Little River at Anakie. The reserve was maintained until 1901.

After the formation of the Central Board 'to watch over the interests of the Aborigines' in 1860, three reserves were set aside in Wathawurrung territory: Kamgun, three acres beside the Barwon River, immediately south of present-day Winchelsea, which existed from 1861 to 1900; Duneed, one acre at Mount Duneed, south of Geelong, which operated from 1861 to 1907; and the Chepstowe reserve on Baillie Creek, Camgham, 1865–1901. The Kamgun reserve was used primarily by Gulidjan people during their visits to Geelong. The Duneed reserve was used by both the Gulidjan and the Wathawurrung, who by regulation had to leave Geelong every evening at sundown and camp at Mount Duneed.

In addition to these reserves, the Wathawurrung were provided with foodstuffs and clothing and other items by seven Local Guardians and Honorary Correspondents to the Board, who resided at Bacchus Marsh, Geelong, and Camgham. Depots operated at Geelong (1860–86), Stockyard Hill (1860–74), Bacchus Marsh (1860–66, 1871, 1873), and Beaufort (1885–1891).

In the latter half of the 1860s many Wathawurrung were relocated to reserves outside their traditional country: Coranderrk, near present-day Healesville, and Framlingham, on the Hopkins River, near Purnim. A statewide census taken in April 1871 returned a total of 65 Aborigines resident in traditional Wathawurrung lands; this figure does not include the Wathawurrung at Framlingham and Coranderrk, and in other regions of Victoria.

The last competent speaker of Wathawurrung is believed to have been Ellen Richards (nee Phillips) (c.1848–1921), a member of the Burrumbeet baluk clan belonging to Lake Burrumbeet. She was interviewed by R.H. Mathews around the turn of the century (See the entry for Mathews 1904 in §1.3 below).

1.3 SOURCES

The sources for Wathawurrung are all listed below. The only sources that provide any substantial information on grammar are R.H. Mathews' grammatical sketch and some pronouns and sentences from Francis Tuckfield which appear in Cary's (1898) article.

Cary, J.J., 1898, Vocabularies of the Geelong and Colac tribes, collected in 1840. *Australian Association for the Advancement of Science* 7: 840-872.

This is the work referred to above which contains material from Tuckfield. This consists of pronoun paradigms, a few notes on grammar, over two hundred sentences, some translations of religious texts and a large vocabulary. The sentences are translated but not glossed. For the most part there is a poor correspondence between the Wathawurrung and the English, and the sentences are difficult to interpret.

Cary's paper contains an appendix consisting of a vocabulary of 'Wod-dow-ro words' collected by Samuel Mossman and a reprint of Parker's list (see below).

Curr, E.M., 1886–7, Moorabool: Jibberin language. List 208J. Curr III: 518-519.

Davenport, Mrs, 1898, Specimens of the language of the Barrabool tribe, and list of members of the tribe, collected about 1842, by Mrs Davenport, daughter of the late Captain Sievwright, Assistant-Protector of Aborigines. In T.F. Bride, ed. *Letters from Victorian Pioneers* Melbourne, 1898 [reprinted 1969, 1983], pp.307-311.

This contains sentences as well as vocabulary.

Fraser, J., 1902, The Woddowro pronouns. *Wombat*, January, pp.1-12.

This is a useless discussion of the pronouns. The paper does not contain any new data.

Griffith, C.J., 1840–1, *A glossary of a few native words in the language of the Port Philip Corio-Weirabbee-Barrbul tribes*. Diary 1840-1:314-316. MS9393 La Trobe Library, Melbourne.

Lloyd, G.T., 1862, *Thirty three years in Tasmania and Victoria*. London.

Some vocabulary is given on pp 470-471, but it is a mixture of the Colac language and Wathawurrung.

Mathew, J., 1899, Lal Lal, Victoria, in J.Mathew *Eagehawk and Crow*. 208–272. London: Nutt; Melbourne: Melville and Slade.

This vocabulary was collected from Mrs Ellen Richards at Coranderrk, 1909 (Clark 1990:306). See also under R.H. Mathews below.

Mathews, R.H., 1902, Tyapwurru and Wuddywurru dialects. *Transactions and proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 36:84-86.

This article contains a set of pronouns including genitive forms said to be the same for the two languages. A manuscript version is also available. There is also another manuscript containing Tuckfield's pronouns copied out with some 'corrections' added (folder/ document AY).

Mathews, R.H., 1904, Language of the Wuddyawurru tribe, Victoria. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* XXXVI: 729-734.

There is a manuscript version available (folder/document BE) plus some field notes (folder/document BE) from 'Mrs Richards, Yarrar, the last of her tribe'.

Morgan, J., 1852, *The life and adventures of William Buckley*. Hobart: Archibald Macdougall. New edition published by Heineman, Melbourne 1967.

The text contains some words, mostly place names (see also Tudehope).

Mossman, S., 1898, Wod-dow-ro words. In Cary (1898:872).

Parker, 1843, Witouro [vocabulary]. *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings*, p.59. Reprinted in GBPP (1844:34), Eyre, Smyth (II:167), Cary and Ridley (shortened version).

Porteous, A, 1878a, Carngham: Mount Emu tribe. Smyth II: 87-88.

1878b, [place names] Smyth II: 178-179.

Robinson, G.A., Material on Wathawurrung is to be found in his papers (Mitchell Library): vol. 12: 14-19, 23-24, 26, 32-35; vol. 63: 61-68; vol. 65, part 2: 1-24, 63-74; vol. 65, part 3: 132-146; vol. 65, part 6: 45-48.

Smyth, R. Brough, 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (2 vols), Melbourne: Ferres, Government Printer.

Thomas, W. 1862, *A lexicon of the Australian Aboriginal tongue in the six dialects of Ballarat, Bacchus Marsh, Melbourne, Gipps Land, Mount Gambier and Wonnin*. MS 6290 La Trobe Library, Melbourne.

The 'Bacchus Marsh' list is Wathawurrung, but the list labelled 'Melbourne' has 57% agreement with Wathawurrung and only 49% agreement with the other sources for the Melbourne language. On morphological grounds it is clearly Melbourne, i.e. Woiwurrung. In light of the percentage of Wathawurrung words it includes, Thomas' Melbourne list has been included in the glossary with each entry in square brackets, but we have not accepted any form from this list as Wathawurrung unless it is corroborated. The lexicon is supplemented by some sentences in the six dialects.

Tuckfield, F., 1842, Woddowrong, or Corio natives [twenty-word vocabulary]. *NSW Governor's Despatches* 39:1110. (Reprinted GBPP 1844 34:227, Eyre and Smyth II:165). Note that the main body of material from Tuckfield is in Cary (see above).

Tudehope, C.M., 1962, *William Buckley*. 'Published in The Victorian Historical Magazine [details lacking] and now privately printed.' [This is the information contained on the title page.]

This contains appendices consisting of the Aboriginal words found in Morgan 1852 q.v. In other words Morgan and Tudehope are essentially the same source; however, there are some differences of detail.

Wedge, J.H., 1883, The surveyor's note-book and report [containing a vocabulary], being chapter XI of J. Bonwick *Port Phillip Settlement*, 247-248. London.

Wedge was a surveyor with Batman's party who would have collected his vocabulary in the early period of settlement.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES

On the basis of the records, and more importantly, on the basis of what we know of other Australian languages, we estimate that Wathawurrung had the following phoneme inventory.

2.1.1 CONSONANTS

TABLE 1: CONSONANTS

	labial	alveolar	retroflex	laminal	velar
stops	p/b	t/d	rt/rd	tj/dj th/dh	k/g
nasals	m	n	rn	ny	ng
laterals		l	rl	ly	
rhotics		rr	r		
glides				y	w

We assume that, as in the vast majority of Australian languages, there was no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops (**p/b**, **t/d** etc.), but we prefer to maintain the indications of voicing found in our sources. Where tokens differ with respect to voicing, which after all is a sign of a lack of voice opposition, our choice of symbol is arbitrary.

In some Australian languages there is a phonemic opposition between two sets of laminals, a dental set (**th**, **nh**, **lh**) and a palatal set (**tj**, **ny**, **ly**). The fluctuation in our sources between *th*, *ch* and *j* suggests that there was no phonemic opposition among the laminal stops. In syllable-initial and intervocalic position we will write **th/dh** or **tj/dj** following, where possible, the indications of our sources. In syllable-final position we write **th** or **dh** where the sources indicate a dental, **tj** or **dj** where a palatal is indicated, and **yt** or **yd** where an unreleased laminal is indicated; thus, for instance, we transcribe *buuloyt* 'cherry' as **buloyt**. Here the source has heard the syllable-final palatal as a glide **y** followed by a stop and by writing **yt** we can give a direct indication of the pronunciation. The use of the digraphs **ty** and **dy** in syllable-final position has the unfortunate consequence of appearing to indicate an extra syllable.

There was probably no phonemic distinction between a dental nasal (**nh**) and a palatal nasal (**ny**). For instance, Thomas records both *nyittak* and *nittak* for ‘to hide’. This probably reflects fluctuation between **nyitak** with a palatal nasal and **nhitak** with a dental nasal. Nineteenth-century recorders heard dental **n** and dental **l** as alveolar **n** and **l** respectively.

With the nasals we use the representation shown in Table 1, but we write **yn** in syllable-final position, partly because this captures the pronunciation and partly because it avoids the appearance of an extra syllable. Thus we transcribe *goang*, *koang*, *coang*, *goh-waing*, *ko-ine* ‘eel’ as **gowayn**. Note in passing that our sources often take a final laminal nasal to be a velar (**ng**). There is a suggestion of a palatal in the digraph *ai* in the second last token for ‘eel’ and confirmation in the last token.

A sequence of **n** and **g** is written **n.g** to differentiate it from **ng** representing a velar nasal.

There is no firm evidence for a retroflex lateral, but we have included **rl** in the table since it is highly likely to have occurred. The only evidence for a palatal lateral is in a few words such as *nyayl*, *gnail*, *ngael* ‘speak/voice/word’ which we take to be **nyayl**, and *tail* ‘flame’, which we take to be **tayl**, writing **yl** for a word-final palatal lateral just as with **yt** and **yn** for word-final palatal stop and nasal respectively. We have no tokens for word-initial or intervocalic position.

We can be fairly certain, on the basis of what we know of other languages, that there was a flapped or trill rhotic (**rr**) and a phonemically distinct retroflex glide rhotic (**r**), but our sources did not make any distinction. Therefore we will write all Wathawurrung rhotics as **rr** and we use the distinct representations **r** and **rr** only in quoting from modern sources such as Hercus where we make cross-references to other languages.

2.1.2 VOWELS

The majority of Australian languages have only the three vowels **i**, **a** and **u** (or six in those languages that have long and short vowels), but Hercus found six vowels of different quality in Wemba-Wemba. Our sources use *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* and *y*. Where our tokens agree on *e* or *o* we have written **e** and **o** respectively. Where there is alternation between *i* and *e*, we tend to regularise with **i**; similarly we standardise fluctuation between *u* and *o* as **u**.

In interpreting the vowel letters in our sources we allow for the following:

An **a** following **w** tends to be rounded to **o**. The word for ‘boomerang’ is recorded as *wongern* along with *wangim*, *wahn-gimm*, etc. We take it to be **wan.gim**.

- The vowel **a** tends to sound like **e** following a palatal. This would account for an *e* alternating with *a* in **-tjarra**, the reciprocal suffix on verbs. The word for ‘flesh’ or ‘body’, which also serves as a pronoun base, appears in our sources as *bang*. However, an *e* alternates with *a* in sources from other languages and Luise Hercus confirms that it is pronounced [beɟ]. This suggests a transcription **beng**, and it suggests that **e** was a separate phoneme from **a**.
- The vowel **a** before a syllable-final palatal will show a **y** glide. The word for ‘salt/ bitter/rum’ is *koran*, *gooraighn*, *gurrain*, *korine*, which we interpret as

kurrayn. By representing syllable-final palatals as **yt**, **yn** and **yl** we can capture this glide.

- The vowel **a** before a syllable-final velar nasal tends to be heard as **o** since nasalisation has the effect of appearing to lower formants. The word for ‘foot’, which we expect on the basis of other languages to be **djinang** was heard as *tyinnang*, *jinnung*, *dyinong*, *genong* etc.
- Vowels tend to be obscured by a following retroflex resulting in a variety of representations. On comparative grounds we expect the Wathawurrung word for ‘hand’ to be **marna** or **marnang**. We find representations such as *murna*, *mona*, *marna*, *mirnuk* ‘his/her hand’, *munangin* ‘your hand’, *murnock* ‘his/her hand’, *mur-na* and *morna*.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

Table 2 shows the consonants in word-initial position, intervocalic position and word-final position. We would not expect an opposition between alveolar and retroflex consonants in word-initial position, but it is difficult to ascertain what occurred in Wathawurrung given that our sources are unreliable. The word for ‘hunting spear’ is recorded as *daire*, *dir*, *der*, *daire* and *daar*. Since there is no hint of a dental or palatal quality in the initial, we take it to be apical and write **dirr**. The word for ‘chain’ is recorded as *drill-drill*. While it may be that the retroflex property belongs to the initial stop, it may be that it has been transferred from the syllable-final lateral. It is common for an r-quality to be transposed (as in English where the **r**, which precedes the vowel in *three*, came to follow it in *third*). With the initial nasals we have shown an **n**-initial on **nenema**. This is recorded by Thomas as *naynaymak* and since he did not distinguish **nh** from **n**, we cannot be certain that the initial is not laminal. This applies to any word recorded with initial *n* only. With the laterals we have **lungawa** ‘to cry’, a word with initial **l** cognates in other languages. There is no firm evidence of **rl** in any position, and **ly** has been detected only in syllable-final position. We have no example of an initial rhotic.

It is likely that all the phonemes occurred in intervocalic position and that any gaps are accidental.

It is a feature of Victorian languages that they allow a wider variety of syllable-final consonants than languages in other parts of the country. Wathawurrung certainly allowed all stops and nasals, **l**, **ly** and **rr**.

There are no initial consonant clusters. Intervocalically the following homorganic nasal-stop clusters are found:

mb	kumba	to sleep
nd	yundap	forearm
md	birndayt	miner bird
ndj	bundjil	eagle
ngg	porronggitj	broga

TABLE 2: CONSONANT PHONOTACTICS

	<i>initial</i>	<i>intervocalic</i>	<i>final</i>
p/b	baa and	papul clay	ba(a)p milk
t/d	dirr spear	mata giddy	murrit bark
rt/rd	-	kardiniyu morning	burt smoke
tj/dj/th/dh/yt	tjaa ground	mutjaka bring	buloyt cherry
k/g	kaal dog	maga here	tharrak arm
m	mum bottom	waima to lift	goim kangaroo
n	nenema to grin	djinang foot	murrun alive
rn	-	bernarr teal duck	kulkurn young man
ny/yn/nh	nyulam bad	banyul hill	gowayn eel
ng	ngoya-ngoya mosquito	bardangal pelican	dung stomach
l	lungawa cry	guli man	yanabil visitor
rl	-	-	-
ly/yl	-	tabalyik (my?) ground	nyayl voice
rr	-	murrun ⁶ alive	mirr eye
y	yirn moon	moyu there	?
w	wang cheek	kawirr emu	?

There are heterorganic clusters consisting of **l**, **rr** or **n** plus non-coronal (labial or velar) stops (**p**, **k**), nasals (**m**, **ng**) and glide (**w**). The correct generalisation about the first element in these clusters should probably be apical liquid or nasal, but we have no evidence for **rl** or **rn**. The rhotic in this position is likely to be the alveolar flap or trill on comparative grounds.

The clusters with liquids as their first element and a non-coronal stop or nasal as their second also occurred in syllable-final position.

⁶ Comparative evidence from Hercus suggests that this word has a flap or trill and that **burruyn** 'night' would be an example of a word with a glide.

	<i>intervocalic</i>		<i>syllable-final</i>	
lp	milpa	to bend	dilp	round
lk	kolkawil	eagle	kalk	wood, log
lm	-		pilm-gunang	thief
lng	?		?	
lw	yulwarra	swim	-	
rrp	wirrpak	ulcer	karrp	spear
rrk	lurrka	to cut	murrk	head
rm	wirmal	owl	ngarrm	sinew
rmg	burrnga	to blow	wirrng	ear
rrw	parrwang	magpie	-	
np	kombanpi	come, bring	-	
nk	wan.kim	boomerang	-	
nm	-		-	
n.ng	-		-	

A variety of other consonant clusters occur intervocalically, but these are all across definite or suspected morpheme boundaries. For instance, **rnb** occurs in **birnbial** 'rainbow', but Hercus (1993:158) points out for Woiwurrung that this is probably a compound containing **biyal** 'redgum'.

There are apparent clusters of stop plus homorganic nasal as in **nyipma** 'to shut one's eyes' and **mapma** 'to catch', but since some clusters alternate with just a nasal both within Wathawurrung (e.g. **nyima**) and in other languages (e.g. Djadjawurrung **nyima**, Woiwurrung **mama**), we suggest that these may simply be emphatic pronunciations of a type found elsewhere in Australia where an intervocalic nasal is pronounced as a stop-nasal with the stop closing the preceding syllable and the nasal introducing the following one. Certainly the stop is an innovation.

3. GRAMMAR

The following information on the grammar is gleaned from the brief sketch provided by R. H. Mathews, some sentences in Davenport and some more extensive sentence material in Tuckfield consisting of 207 miscellaneous sentences and four pages of religious text translated into Wathawurrung. The translation of the 207 sentences is not always accurate and the vocabulary in Cary inadequate. The result is that many of the sentences in Tuckfield we have only been able to understand partially. A number of obscurities remain.

3.1 NOUNS

We begin with a consideration of number and gender as in R.H. Mathews' sketch grammar.

3.1.1 NUMBER

As in his other grammars R.H. Mathews devotes a section to number, but it seems the distinctions he shows are purely lexical.

<i>wangim</i>	wan.gim	boomerang
<i>wangim buliñ</i>	wan.gim buliyn	a couple of boomerangs
<i>wangimkullik</i>	wan.gim kulik	three boomerangs
<i>wangimgetyaul</i>	wan.gim getjawil	several boomerangs

3.1.2 GENDER

Mathews also includes gender, but all that is involved is natural gender. The sex of an animal is indicated by using **guliwan** ‘male’ and **ngardang** ‘female’. The word **guliwan** invites comparison with **guli** ‘man’. **Ngardang** is ‘mother’.

<i>goim gulawan</i>	goim guliwan	male kangaroo (also <i>guliwan</i>)
<i>goim ngurdang</i>	goim ngardang	female kangaroo

Mathews notes that different words are used to indicate male and female humans:

guli	man	bagurrk	woman
gulkurrguli	boy	nganya-gurrk	girl

The word for ‘boy’ appears to contain **guli** ‘man’. The words for ‘woman’ and ‘girl’ contain a common formative **gurrk** which invites comparison with **gurrk** ‘blood’. **Nganya** means ‘little’. **Gurrk** alternates with **wurrk** in proper names for females. The basis for the alternation is not clear, but **gurrk** tends to be used with word-final stops and nasals while **wurrk** is used with word-final liquids and vowels. Tuckfield gives the following examples: *Gnun-ye-ge-mer-wor-ok* which is **Nganyaki-mirr-wurrk** ‘small-eye-female’, *Kuren-ye-mer-worik* which is **kurrenye-mirr-wurrk** and also means ‘small-eye-female’, and *Korinemurnongorok* where **kurrayn** is ‘bitter’, **murnang** ‘yam daisy’ and **gurrk/wurrk** ‘female’. Davenport supplies over a dozen other examples but without glosses. Tuckfield (tus 207) also gives a sentence **waalabil-wurrk** ‘She is a giver’ where **wurrk** is parallel to a subject enclitic pronoun **-arr** in **waalabil-arr** ‘You are a giver’.

Another example of this formative is **ngamatjiyt-gurrk** ‘white woman’ where **ngamatjiyt** is the regular word in the area for European.

3.1.3 CASE

The cases, discussed below, are:

nominative	-Ø
ergative-locative	-a
locative	-o
allative	-iyu
genitive	-ak

(a) Nominative -Ø

The subject of an intransitive verb bears no suffix, i.e. it appears in the nominative case: **Birnbupma mirri** (come.out sun) 'The sun comes out'. The subject of non-verbal predicates and nominals in predicate function are also unmarked. With nouns the object of a transitive verb is likewise unmarked (see examples (1) and (4) below for example). The situation with pronouns in object function is more complicated and is discussed in §3.3.

(b) Ergative-locative -a

The suffix **-a** appears regularly as a locative:

ngubiyt-a	in water
kurrk-a	in blood
tarnak-a	in the bucket
marrng-a	in clouds
marna-a	in [my] hand
kalk-a	against a stick, against a log
wurr-wurr-a	in heaven [sky]
bakarr-a	in the middle

(root also recorded in **bakarriyu** which has the same or a similar meaning)

- (1) *Bom bop ma karl gnu-beit-a.* tus 18
Bumbupma kaal ngubiyt-a.
 drown dog water-ERG/LOC
 Drown the dog in the water.

There is one example where **-a** marks purpose,

- (2) *Yanné yok wira binya!* das 35
Yani-yu-k wirrabiny-a!
 walk-away-IMP fish-ERG.LOC
 Go and get some fish!

and one where it marks the complement of **karring** 'talk to' in Tuckfield's translation of Genesis,

- (3) *Kon te win -yar-ar karing ba-go-rok-a?* tug 25
Kunte winya-arr karring⁷ bagurrk-a?
 INTERROG WHAT-2SG speak woman-ERG.LOC
 Why have you been talking to the woman?

The suffix **-a** also appears to have been used to mark the agent of a transitive verb, i.e. to have had an ergative function. Mathews gives the following example,

⁷ In Wemba-Wemba the verb is in the third person singular form when the person/number clitics appear on a non-verb as here (Hercus 1986:40).

- (4) *Guliar goeng bakkurnirring. Gulia bakunirring gōang.* rhm
Guli-a bakunirring gowayn.
 man-ERG/LOC catch eel
 A man caught an eel.

Tuckfield gives several examples,

- (5) *Young gag-a-dik ge-la-gne bag-arok-a.* tug 22
Yunggagad-ik gelange bagurrk-a.
 gave-me there woman-ERG.LOC
 The woman there gave [it] to me.
- (6) *Kol port na gmud-den wer e po Mr Tuckfield-a.* tus 94
Kolpo(r)tna nguden wirr(i)p-o Mr Tuckfield-a.
 break you.ACC back-LOC Mr Tuckfield-ERG-LOC
 Mr Tuckfield will break your back.
- (7) *Kun-kun e mering Pejena tar-iwel?* tus 108
Kun-kune merring pitjarrng-a tharriwil?
 INTERROG buy? father-ERG.LOC turkey
 Has your father bought a turkey?

The suffix **-a** is not used consistently with all two-place predicates in the Tuckfield material. It is not used with **kanama** 'to love', **Ngerrenbupma** 'to love', *wer-nering* 'to mock' nor with **turno** 'be angry with'. It may be that these were not transitive verbs. The object of these verbs is unmarked if a noun, and bears object marking if a pronoun.

As in most other Australian languages with an ergative(-locative) suffix there is no ergative case marking with pronouns.

(c) Locative -o

There are some examples of a locative suffix **-o** in Tuckfield's sentences, mostly with body parts: **nhaningo-o** 'in the neck', **butj-o** 'in the heart' [lit. liver], **ngarmurrk-o-nhuk** (hair-LOC-3SG.POSS) 'in her hair'. Note also **wirr(i)p-o** in (6) above, which could be locative ('break you in the back'), *kitchen-o* 'through the kitchen' which is obviously not a body part, nor is *yarra-yaro* 'to Melbourne', but this could be **yarra-yarra-iyu** (see example (8) below).

(d) Allative -(i)yu

The suffix **-(i)yu** corresponds to English 'to'.

wiyn-iyu to hell [to the fire]
wurr-wurr-iyu to heaven [to the sky]
yaluk-iyu to the river

- (8) *Yar ra wo-u wa-de an e-ram-u.* tus 205
Yarrawuyu wade-an yirramyu.
 Melbourne.ALL go-1SG tomorrow
 I shall go to Melbourne tomorrow.

'To Melbourne' is given also as *Yar-ra-yaro* (tus8) and here as *Yar ra wu-u*.

The suffix **-(i)yu** also appears on roots denoting a period of time where it has a locative function.

mirri	sun, day	mirriyu	today
yirram	day, light	yirramyu	in the morning, tomorrow (also yirramnyu, yirramdju)
murrkal	night	murrkalyu	tonight, last night
kurrkat	summer	kurrkatju	in summer
thali-thali	twilight	thaliyu, thalinyu	yesterday
bakarr-	middle	bakarryu	middle.

There is also an example of **-yu** marking the complement of **banggel** 'ignorant'.

- (9) *Gnul a get bung gel Sunday-u.* tus 60
Ngala-k-at banggel Sunday-yu.
 NEG-IMPER-2PL ignorant Sunday-ALL
 You must not be ignorant of Sunday.

(e) Genitive **-ak**

In expressions of possession the possessor is marked with the genitive suffix and the possessed is marked by an enclitic pronominal form indicating the person and number of the possessor. (See §3.2.)

- (10) *guliak wangimnyuk* (*wangimuk* 'his boomerang') rhm
guli-ak wan.gim-nyuk (also **wan.gim-uk**)
 man-GEN boomerang-3SG.POSS
 a man's boomerang
- (11) *bagurguk kunninyuk* (*bagurgak* in published version) rhm
bagurrk-ak kani-nyuk
 woman-GEN yamstick-3SG.POSS
 a woman's yamstick

It is common in Australian languages for the genitive not to be used with body parts. The following example suggests that this may have been the case in Wathawurrung. Note that the body part (**kurrk**) and the owner of the body part (**Christ**) are both in the ergative-locative case.

- (12) *Kon-te-win-yar kar wel le kor-ak-ka nuk Jesus Christ-a amerjig barp kin kin bil?*
Kun-te winya kawele kurrk-a-nhuk
 why what wash blood-ERG.LOC-3SG.POSS
Jesus Christ-a ngamadjiyt baap kinkinbil? tuh 12
 Jesus Christ-ERG.LOC white and Aborigine
 Why do whites and blacks wash in the blood of Jesus Christ?

3.2 PRONOUNS: FREE PRONOUNS AND POSSESSOR ENCLITICS

Wathawurrung had free (stressable) pronouns and it also had enclitic pronouns for subject, direct object, indirect object and possessor. The free pronouns and the possessor

enclitics are dealt with in this section. The enclitics for subject and object are covered in §3.3.

R.H. Mathews gives the pronouns shown in Table 3 and Tuckfield gives the pronouns shown in Table 4. These pronouns consist of a base *beng* to which pronominal suffixes are attached for the various person and number combinations. *Beng* means ‘body’.⁸

TABLE 3: MATHEWS’ PRONOUNS

		<i>nominative</i>	<i>genitive</i>
singular	1	bengek	bengordigek
	2	bengin	bengordigin
	3	benguk	bengordiguk
dual	1 inc	bengal	bengordingal
	1 exc	bengalak	bengordingalak
	2	bengbula	bengordiwula
	3	bengbulang	bengordibulang
plural	1 inc	bengadak	bengordingadak
	1 exc	bengwudjak	bengordiwudjak
	2	bengūt	bengordingūt⁹
	3	benganak	bengordiganak

TABLE 4: TUCKFIELD’S PRONOUNS

		<i>nominative</i>	<i>genitive</i>
singular	1	bengik	bengongik
	2	bengen	benggodingen, bengongen
	3	beng-nuk	benggodiduk
dual	1 inc	bengal*	benggodingal
	1 exc	-	
	2	bengbulok	benggodibulok
	3	beng-a-bulang	benggodibulok
plural	1 inc	bengetak	bengongetak
	1 exc	bengwodjok	bengawodjok
	2	bengut	bengongut
	3	bengt(h)anang	benggodit(h)anok benggodit(h)anang

*Tuckfield did not distinguish inclusive/exclusive. The first person non-singular forms are placed on the basis of Mathews. There is irregular alternation between *ng* and *ng-g* in the genitive.

The **h** in **t(h)anang** has been added on the grounds that this is likely to reflect the widespread root **thana** or **tjana** ‘they’.

⁸ The transcription is much the same as RHM’s notation except that he has *bang*, double *l* and *-uk* as the final syllable in the first dual exclusive and first plural inclusive. Tuckfield also has *bang*, also *bang-go-de-gnen*, *bang-etuk*, *bang-ud* and *bang-tan-ong*.

⁹ Mathews uses a macron here to indicate length.

Cary writes with enthusiasm about Tuckfield's discovery of 'triple number' in the Geelong district and Mathews regularly includes a 'trial number' in his grammars. In general these trial forms can be disregarded as they are merely plural forms with a word for 'three' appended. However, a few of Tuckfield's trial forms are worth quoting as they contain plural forms slightly different from those given in Table 4.

bang-tan-a-kol-lik **bengt(h)ana-kulik** they three
bang-a-tan-a-kol-ik **bengat(h)ana-kulik** theirs [three]

The following forms, less **kulik** have been placed on the first person plural inclusive row in Table 4:

bang-etuk-kol-ik **bengetak-kulik** we three
bang-ong-etuk-kol-ik **bengongetak-kulik** ours [three]

Note that **kulik** is not the word for 'three', nor would we expect it to be since 'trial' forms generally turn out to be paucal forms, i.e. forms referring to 'a few'. Hercus (1966) relates **kulik** to **guli**, the word for 'group' in what we are calling the Western Victorian Language. She notes that **guli** is used to form a 'trial' in Wemba-Wemba. Hercus connects **guli** 'group' with **guli** 'man' in languages such as Woiwurrung and Wathawurrung. It is interesting to note that Robinson collected a form *kollek* for 'man' in Wathawurrung.

The nominative pronouns were used in subject function, but probably only where some emphasis was required since there were also enclitic pronouns (see §3.3.1). Tuckfield gives two contrasting sentences *With whom is God displeased?* and *Who am I displeased with?* and he translates *I* in the second as **bengik**. These sentences are not given here as they contain some obscurities. **Bengin** appears in the following curious example:

- (13) *Letter bow ok bang en.* tus 110
 Letter bowok bengin.
 letter ? you
 You are a person of letters.

There is one example of **bengik** in object function: **Ngerrenbupma Kararanuk bengik** (*Gner en bop mer Ka-ra-ra-nuk bangik* (tus 53)) 'Kararanuk loves me'.

There is one example of a full pronoun in possessor function in Tuckfield's translation of Genesis. To Adam's question 'Who has taken this fruit?' Eve replies with one word: **bengongik**, i.e. 'mine'.

There are singular possessor enclitic pronouns recorded. These are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5: POSSESSOR ENCLITICS

1	-ik	
2	-in	-ngin
3	-uk	-nhuk, -nyuk
	-etuk	-nyetuk

The forms **-ik**, **-in**, **-ngin**, **-uk** and **-nhuk** are also found in Western Victorian tongues, but **-(ny)etuk** is peculiar to Wathawurrung. From what we know of other Victorian languages we would expect the vowel-initial forms to occur with consonant-final stems and

the consonant-initial stems to occur with vowel-final stems. This principle does not appear to be adhered to in Wathawurrung, though there are few examples of vowel-initial enclitics with vowel-final stems.

- (14) *kol len bol len tar ok ik* tus 92
kolen bulen tharrak-ik
 ? 3DU.OBJ?¹⁰ arm-1SG.POSS
 to loosen my arms
- (15) *Gnar won gneal gnen.* tuh 17
Nga(rr)-wan nyayl-ngin.
 believe-1SG word-2SG.POSS
 I believe your word(s).

Further examples appear in (10) and (11) above.

There is not much information on non-singular possessors, but since forms like **-ik** seem to have been used in indirect object function as well as possessor function, we would expect that those forms recorded for indirect object (Table 8) also served as possessor forms. There is one non-singular pronominal possessor form recorded, namely *buletuk* ‘their (dual)’.

3.3 VERBS

3.3.1 SUBJECT ENCLITICS AND TENSE

Mathews gives the following verb paradigms illustrating tense and the person of the subject (singular only). The verb used means ‘to speak’ and it consists of a root **ki-** (alternatively **gi-**) plus a suffix **-la** (compare **kitjarra** ‘to talk’ where **-tjarra** is the reciprocal suffix). These paradigms are somewhat misleading in that the person/number markers are enclitics rather than suffixes. They regularly occur on the first word (or constituent?) in the clause. Wathawurrung is a verb-first language, but the negative word and various interrogative words usually occur in first position and attract enclitic pronouns. There are a few examples of the subject enclitics occurring on nouns where the noun is the only word in the sentence: **Waalabil-arr** ‘You are a giver’ (tus 207). Mathews’ spelling is *gelan*, *gelar*, *gela*, etc. in the manuscript and *gēlan*, etc. in the published version.

TABLE 6: VERB TENSES

	<i>present</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>future</i>
1	kilan	kilikan	kilinyan
2	kilarr	kilikarr	kilinyarr
3	kila munya	kilik munya	kiliyn munya

The use of **-iny-** to mark the future is the same as in the Western Victorian language, but the use of **-ik-** to mark past appears to be idiosyncratic.

¹⁰ Compare **lago(r)na-bulen** ‘to separate’.

In the manuscript version from Mrs Richards the second person singular forms have an extra syllable *-min*, and the future form is *geelanyirmin*. The form shown in the published version as **munya** is written sometimes *munyu* and sometimes *munya*, and sometimes as part of the verb. It is also found in the Central Victorian Language and it is a deictic meaning 'this/here'. One manuscript shows the future with *a* as the second vowel: *gelanyan*, *gelanyar*, but *geliñ*. The third person singular form *gela* appears in the manuscript as a correction to a form *gelin*. In the sentences in Tuckfield and in Mathews' sentence examples a number of verbs with a third person singular subject end in *-ing* (= *iyñ*?), and there are some in Davenport with *-een* (= *iyñ*?). In the Central Victorian Language the third person forms end in a palatal nasal, the present and future being differentiated by the preceding vowel: **djilbuyn** 'S/he hits', **djilbayn** 'S/he will hit'. It seems that the situation in Wathawurrung is similar, but the exact differentiation of present and future in the third person singular is not clear. The form *gilin* that Mathews changed to *gila* probably had some validity. The form *gila* may also be valid; a number of verbs in the Tuckfield material end in *-a* (along with *-o* and *-e*).

Mathews does not supply dual and plural paradigms, but he gives the following reciprocal forms, which contain markers for first person inclusive, both dual and plural.

<i>gekiringal</i>	ki-kirri-ngal	we (dual) speak to each other
<i>gekiringit, gēkiringity</i>	ki-kirri-ngitj	we (plural) speak to each other

We should point out in passing that the reciprocal marker in our other sources is **-tjarra-** as in other Kulin languages (see also §3.7.3 (b)).

From Tuckfield's material we can add **-bul** 'second person dual', **-bulang** 'third person dual', **-at** 'second person plural', and **thanang** 'third person plural'.

There are also some forms with **w-**, **-wan** 'I', **-warr** 'you' (singular) and **-wat** 'you' (plural). A series of pronominal forms built on **wa-** is also found in Tjapwurrung, Djadjawurrung and the Central Victorian language—in other words, in all the surrounding Kulin tongues.

The full set recorded from one source or another is shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7: SUBJECT ENCLITICS

	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1 inc		-ngal	-ngitj
exc	-an, -wan		
2	-arr, -warr	-bul	-at, -wat
3		-bulang	-t(h)anang

- (16) *Yanni wan* **Yani-wan** I am going. das 5
 (17) *Yanni wat* **Yani-wat** Go away! das 10

Some intransitive verbs and nominal predicates take possessor pronoun enclitics in apparent subject function. See examples (23), (24) and (34). Instances can be found in Tuckfield, Davenport, Robinson and Wedge: **yan-ik** 'I will go', **wad-ik** 'I have come',

mairra-ik (*myr e yik* (das 18)) ‘I’m hungry’, **mairra-ngin** (*mirang in* (das 22)) ‘Are you hungry?’

There is a lot that remains unknown or obscure as regards the marking of tense or aspect. Mathews always gives a past, present and future tense paradigm in his grammatical sketches, making a three-way tense distinction that is curiously like the one made in the traditional teaching of English grammar. While **-iny-** ‘future’ matches **-iny-** ‘future’ in the various tongues of the Western Language, it is disquieting to find forms such as the following:

- (18)a **Turninyan.** (*toornin yan*) I am sulky/angry. das 17
 b **Tirrmilinyan.** (*dermil inyan*) I am tired. das 15

As noted earlier, quite a number of verb forms, particularly in Tuckfield’s sentences, end in *-ing*. This may be **-iyn**. They appear with various persons and numbers and translate into past, present and future forms in English.

The following is a selection of the less problematic examples in the sources.

- (19) *Kol ing wod ong gnul.* tus 91
Koling wada-ngal.
 ? go-2DU
 Let us walk together.
- (20) *Kul-a-war me-juk.* tus 101
Kala-warr mitj-uk.
 take?-2SG skin-3SG
 Take its skin.
- (21) *Kel-ter-a-len tan-ong bagorok.* tus 84
Ki-tjarra-len t(h)anang bagurrk.
 talk-RECIP-? they woman
 Those women are talking.
- (22) *Kel-ter-a-len tan-ong kol-lik.* tus 85
Ki-tjarra-len t(h)anang kulik.
 talk-RECIP-? they trial
 They three are talking.
- (23) *We-ar wor-ik mor-gal-u kom bik?* tus 170
Wiya wurr-ik murr-gal-yu kumb-ik?
 where be-I night-ALL sleep-I
 Where shall I sleep tonight?
- (24) *We-ar wor-en mor-gal-u?* tus 171
Wiya wurr-in murr-gal-yu?
 where be-2SG night-ALL
 Where did you stay last night?

- (25) *Kōnar ngalbaleen?* das 23
Kun-arr ngalbaliyn?
 INTERROG-2SG afraid
 Are you frightened?
- (26) *Kon at peet yuré?* das 43
Kun-at pi-tjarre?
 INTERROG-2PL hit-RECIP
 Are you going to fight?
- (27) *Win-yer at kud jerring kon damper kon rice?* tus 187
Winya-at kudjerring kun damper kun rice?
 what-2PL eat INTERROG damper INTERROG rice
 What have you to eat? Damper or rice?
- (28) *Win-yer bol kud jo? Kon butter barp new-rong?* tus 189
Winya-bul kudjo? Kun butter baap nyurrang?
 what-2DU eat INTERROG butter and bread
 What have you been eating? Bread and butter?
- (29) *Kon-bol-bil mil-ik?* tug 19
Kun-bul pilmil-ik?
 INTERROG-2DU steal-1SG.OBL
 Have you two stolen [from] me?
- (30) *Kan am dering bul long kin-kin-bil Detable Moroponuk barp mom-mom-nuk.* tus 73
Kanam-tjarring-bulang kinkinbil dirdabil murrupo-nhuk
 love-RECIP-2DU Aborigines big spirit-3SG.POSS
baap mamam-nhuk.
 and son-3SG.POSS
 The Great Spirit and His Son love the blacks.

3.3.2 IMPERATIVE

There are numerous examples of indicative verbs being translated as imperative **nhita nhurrong-ngin** (*Net-ta-new rong gnen* (tus 133)) (hide bread-2SG.POSS) 'Hide your bread' (tus 133), but there are also many examples of an imperative in **-k**. A clear example can be found in one of Davenport's sentences, previously given as example (2):

- (31) *Yanné yok wira binya!* das 35
Yani-yu-k wirrabiny-a!
 walk-away-IMP fish-ERG.LOC
 Go and get some fish!

The imperative marker regularly transfers to the negative word **nyala**. Consider the following translation of two of the Commandments. In the positive command (32) the **-k** is on the verb, but in the negative the **-k** is on the negative word (33).

- (32) *Gner-en-bop-mo kot pe-der-a-gnen barp gner-den.* tuc 12
Ngerrenbupma-k-at pitjarr-ngin baap ngardang.
 love-IMP-2PL father-2SG.POSS and mother
 Love thy father and mother.
- (33) *Gnul la get kom-bar-don-gor-en bul long.* tuc 14
Nyala-k-at kumba-dongoren bulang.
 not-IMP-2PL sleep-? 3DU
 Thou shalt not commit adultery.

An imperative in **-k** is also found in the Western Victorian Language and the Central Victorian Language.

It should be noted that many of the verb forms in the glossary end in **-k**, which we have taken to be an imperative marker. This **-k** has been omitted from the phonetic transcription.

3.3.3 OBJECT PRONOUNS

There appear to have been object pronouns, probably direct and indirect object pronouns, possibly with the indirect object set being the same as the possessor set. The examples are skimpy; they are all from Tuckfield, and some have to be disregarded because of incorrect glosses or various obscurities.

In translating the Lord's Prayer Tuckfield uses the first person plural form *wodjok* in translating *give us our daily bread* and in *forgive us our trespasses*. He uses *bangwodjok* (note the stressed form) in *them that trespass against US*. He uses another first person plural form *wodgen* in translating *lead us not into temptation* and in translating *deliver us from evil*. This suggests a distinction between indirect and direct object. *Wod-gen* also appears for 'them' in *The Great Spirit loves them*. This would appear to be an error in person. The *-en* inflection also appears in *gnul-len* 'us-two' and *gnud-den* given as 'them' and 'you'.¹¹ We have tentatively taken *gnud-den* to be **nguden** 'you plural' on comparative grounds and on the basis of Mathews clearly indicating [u] in the second person by writing *ū*.

In translating the story of the Fall in Genesis Tuckfield uses **-ik** in *steal from ME*, (see (42) below) *gave it to ME* and *told ME to eat* (see (5) above). Since **-ik** is also recorded as a genitive, it seems that there may have been a single set of enclitics to cover possessor and indirect object functions.

Table 8 sums up the range of non-subject pronouns in various functions.

¹¹ See also **bulen** 'them two' in example (14) and note **lago(r)na-bulen** 'to separate'.

TABLE 8: OBJECT PRONOUNS

	<i>direct object</i>	<i>indirect object</i>	<i>possessor</i>
1		-ik	-ik
2		-(ng)in	-(ng)in
3	nhuk		-(ny)etuk -(nh)uk
1	ngalen		
2			
3	bulen		buletuk
1	wadjen	wadjuk	
2	<i>gnud-den (=nguden ?)</i>		
3	<i>gnud-den</i>		

The unstressed object pronouns occupied the same range of positions as the unstressed subject pronouns; that is, they followed the verb or any other word occupying the first position in the clause. There is not much evidence for the relative ordering where both a subject and an object enclitic occurred. Consider first the following example:

- (34) *Gnul lok gnen turn-no.* tus 65
Nyala-ik-ngin turno.
 not-I you angry
 I am not angry with you.

The first word is actually *gnul lok*. Assuming we have interpreted it correctly we have an example of subject before object. The form **-ik** is the possessor/indirect object form found on a number of intransitive predicates in apparent subject function.

There is an example which might be interpreted as having the reverse order (tus 207). It is **Pitala-ngalen-thanang** (*pedela ngu lentanong*) (hit-2DU.OBJ-they?) and looks as if it means 'They strike us', but it is translated by Tuckfield as 'Strike us (dual)'.

- (35) *Karing-ik ge la gne bojel-gna punjel-kar-ne.* tug 24
Karring-ik gelange budjelnga punjilkarne.
 tell-1SG.OBJ there old devil
 That old devil told me.
- (36) *Gner en bop mo gnel-len long gong ga boy jo detable mur-um nuk.* tus 55
Ngerrenbupma ngalen lunggaga butj-o dirdabil murrum-nhuk.
 love 1DU.OBJ cry.? heart-? big spirit-3SG.POSS
 The Great Spirit loves us who have a heavy heart. [**butj** also = 'liver']
- (37) *We-la ngul-en mor-o?* tug 16
Wela ngalen mirr-o?
 who 1DU.OBJ eye-?
 Who sees us? (Adam speaking; 'us' = Adam and Eve)

- (38) *Kan am mo wod jen Detable Moromnuk.* tus 77
Kanamo wadjen dirdabil murrum-nhuk.
 love IPL.OBJ big spirit-3SG.POSS
 The Great Spirit loves us.

(Tuckfield has 'them', but **wadjen** is 'us' in the Lord's Prayer.)

- (39) *Gnan bo kud-jer-ing Eve wan u wa a la nuk Adam.* tug 11
Nganbu kudjerring Eve wanyu waa-la¹² nhuk Adam.
 first eat Eve ? give-? 3SG.OBJ? Adam
 Eve ate first and then gave it to Adam.
- (40) *Bok-kup may nuk?* tus 13
Bakopma nhuk?
 open 3SG.OBJ?
 Has he opened it?

3.3.4 GRAMMATICAL VERB

Wathawurrung appears to have had a grammatical verb like the verb 'to be'.

- (41) *Weourwooreen wallurt-wallurt?* das 38
Wiya wurriyn walart-walart?
 where be possum-possum
 Where is your possum cloak?

This sentence invites comparison with examples (23) and (24), where **warr-** probably has more of a lexical meaning, 'stop/stay/remain'.

3.4 PREPOSITIONS

As in his other grammars Mathews presents examples of inflected prepositions. These are probably possessed relational nouns. This is clear in many other languages where the root appears as a separate word. One would guess that the forms below are literally 'my/your/his-her front'.

kalinyanyik	in front of me
kalinyanyin	in front of you (the last syllable is written <i>-nyūn</i>)
kalinyanyuk	in front of him/her

3.5 INTERROGATIVES

who	wila	tu
whose	wikanyuk	rhm
	wikakiyu	tu
what	winya	tu

¹² For **-la** compare **-la** in Table 6. See also §3.7.3 (b).

when	wilang	tu
	wiyabai	das
why	konte winya	tu, das
how many	nan gort	tu (unconfirmed)
where	wiya	tu
where from	winyang	das
	winya nyu/ngu	tu

Note also **kun-/kon-** which introduces yes/no questions.

- (42) *Kon-bol-bil mil ik?* tug 19
Kun-bul bilmil-ik?
 query-2DU.SUBJ steal.1SG.IND.OBJ
 Have you two stolen from me?

See examples of interrogatives in §3.3.1

3.6 WORD ORDER

Mathews states that the adjective followed the noun and that it showed concord with the noun. He does not give any examples.

It appears from Tuckfield's material that Wathawurrung was a verb-initial language. Enclitic pronouns aside, the most common order seems to have been verb-object-subject (see also examples (5), (6) and (12)).

- (43) *Kan am mo kin-kin-bil Detable Muromnuk?* tus 75
Kanamo kinkinbil dirdabil murrum-nhuk?
 love Aborigine big spirit-3SG.POSS
 Does the Great Spirit love the blacks?

3.7 WORD FORMATION

3.7.1 REDUPLICATION

It is clear from the vocabulary that reduplication plays a large part in word formation. In most instances the reduplicated element does not occur on its own and cannot be identified as a word, e.g. **dam-dam** 'dry grass bedding', **ngoya-ngoya** 'mosquito'. Note, however, that **walart** 'possum' reduplicates to form **walart-walart** 'possum-skin rug' or 'possum-skin cloak', and **thali-**, the root of **thaliyu** 'yesterday', presumably occurs in **thali-thali** 'twilight' (evening?).

3.7.2 COMPOUNDS

murrk banyul	[head-hill]	hilltop
mirr-beng	[eye-body/flesh]	face
thaarrk-kurn	[reed-neck]	reed necklace
ngambul-mum	[treefork-bottom]	koala

dhilpa-marna	[beat-hand]	clap
nyala-gupma	[not-do]	stop [= 'desist?']
borrak-nyala-gupma (borrak 'not', nyala 'not')	[not-not-do]	to neglect

There are also pseudo-compounds, i.e. words that look like compounds but where one or both of the constituents does not appear as a separate word.

nga-murrk	hair	[murrk 'head', for nga -, cf. WV ngarra 'hair']
but-gupma	quench	[?-do, cf. but-but 'swamp']
guparr-murrk	cap	[? - head]

The first element in **guparr-murrk** is similar to **kabarra** 'head', a Sydney word used in nineteenth-century pidgin and still used in Northern Australia; however, the first vowel does not match.

In a larger corpus many of these unidentified formatives might have been found as separate words.

Cary gives the following examples of compounds used as nicknames.

<i>mulga-mon</i>	shield-point	(malga 'shield', mum 'bottom?')
<i>nerim-genong</i>	long-foot	(nhirrim/nyirrim 'long', djinang 'foot')
<i>newlem-boit</i>	bad-heart	(nyulam 'bad', butj/boyt 'liver';

but **butj** is 'stomach' in Woiwurrung, Thagungwurrung and Djadjawurrung)

<i>pone-melang</i>	bite-rat, i.e. 'an eater of rats'	(bun(da) 'bite', melang?)
<i>korong-wrong</i>	frog-face	(? - wurrung 'lips/mouth')

-i

There are a number of compound terms for body parts such as the following, where the first element denoting a more specific part of a larger whole is suffixed with -i.

- (44) **dung-i** **marna**
 stomach-PART hand
 palm of the hand

Other examples can be found in the vocabulary under *finger*, *nostril*, *eyelid*, *eyebrow* and *toe*. The same construction is used for the young of animals: **babab-i bulgena** 'calf', **bababi-i yawa** 'chicken'.

3.7.3 SUFFIXES

(a) suffixes found on nouns

-gunang

Cary picks out these as exemplifying an agent-noun forming suffix **-gunang**.

moyu-gunang	liar
bilm-gunang	thief
dilu-gunang	fighter (cf. dhilpa 'to hit')

-bil

The suffix **-bil** forms agent nouns and instrument nouns.

birtna-bil	[scrape-]	razor
darra-bil-bupma	[see glossary]	arouse
yana-bil	[walk-]	visitor
karringalabil	[grow?-la-]	creator
kin-kin-bil	[see glossary]	Aborigines
wa-la-bil	[give-la-]	giver
wanga-la-bil	[make-la-]	working man
bilma-la-bil	[steal-la-]	thief

Cary discusses the suffix **-bil** and gives *tarekabil* 'an erect person', 'one straight as a spear' (compare *thaarrk* 'reed', 'reed spear'). He also gives the examples referred to below in the discussion of *warrabil*, etc.

The list below gives all the other forms to be found in the glossary with a final syllable **-bil**. These are opaque.

tarnbil	thunder
werna-werna-bil	wheel
dawa-elabil	whip
dirdabil	big
burrabil	mountain
morrobil	owl
darrabil	paper
mitjolabil	person in difficulty

-wil

A few words bear the suffix **-wil**. This is the 'having' suffix in Wemba-Beraba, and the Madhi group, and is also found in the Wimmera language. The word *liangwil* means 'toothed one' or 'having a tooth' and refers to a mattock-like club. Variants of this are found in other Kulin tongues. Other words appearing to contain **-wil** are:

kolkawil	eagle	
wunggurrwil	strong	
tharriwil	turkey	
ngarrawil	old man	[WV <i>ngarra</i> 'hair']

-mil

The form **-mil** is the 'having' suffix in Central Victoria, Djadjawurrung and Tjapwurrung. It is found in Wathawurrung in *kurnmil* 'snake', which probably means 'neck-having one', not that this form is exclusive to Wathawurrung. There are also two forms *liangwil* and *liangmil* for a type of mattock-like club. Gavan Breen suggests that the nasal quality of the preceding segment has spread. This is confirmed by the forms recorded for 'finger', *wirnwirnmil* and *wirnmirnmil*, where the variation occurs in the second syllable.

formatives in colour terms

A comparison of the colour terms reveals some recurring formatives:

wurr-garrabil	black
wurr-garriyn	
djirrala-bil	brown
gurr-gurr-warriyn	blue
gurr-gurr-warrabil	green
wurr-(w)arri(y)n	
kurrkurr-warriyn	red
dirrk-warriyn	
dirrk-warrabil	
tarn-garriyn	white
tarn-garrabil	(also 'cash')

There are some problems with the first formative in the terms for 'blue' and 'green' and in the first entry for 'red'. It is possible that there was no native distinction between 'blue' and 'green' so the recurrence of **gurr** is not too surprising. The formative **wurr**, which appears in 'black' and the second entry for 'green' may be a lenited form of **gurr**. The term *cork gor warreen* 'red' transcribed **kurrk-kurr-warriyn** looks as if it might contain the same **gurr**, but it is likely that the first formative is **kurrk** 'blood' especially since **kurrk warren** is recorded for 'red' in Woiwurrung. There appear to be basically two second formatives **garrabil** and **garriyn** each with a variant containing a lenited initial, **warrabil** and **warriyn** respectively.

The formative **warrabil** seems also to occur in the following:

nga(rr)-warrabil	relating to the fur tribe
worrm-[w]arrabil	one of the fur tribe
nan-warrabil	one of the fur tribe
nilang-warrabil	the finny tribe
kurrun-warrabil	one of the feather tribe
barna-warrabil	mussel (<i>barna</i> 'water' is found in the Central Victorian Language)

These terms are given in the Tuckfield word list published by Cary. Cary picks out some of these terms as illustrating the suffix **-bil** (see above) and it may well be that **warrabil** can be split into **-warra-** and **-bil** in light of the term for 'brown'. Hercus (pers.comm.) suggests that **warra** may be a plural-marking suffix as in Wergaia (Hercus 1986:83) and that **warrabil** may mean 'having a lot of'. Cary also glosses **nan-warrabil** as 'denoting a bear, opossum, or any furred animal'. It is uncertain whether Tuckfield's use of 'tribe' refers to totemic sections or whether the term is used in a more general sense. Tuckfield also gives *nan-ok* and *nan-wor-en* for 'fur tribe'. The latter may be **nan-warriyn** containing the same **garriyn/warriyn** found in some of the colour terms.

-wan

There appears to be a suffix **-wan**. The form **guliwan** 'male' must contain **guli** 'man', and the form **warrawan** 'sore', 'pain' invites comparison with *war-war* 'sick'. The form

bulawan for 'scissors' is presumably an innovation and may be based on the widespread root **bula** 'two'. There is also **marriwan** 'woomera' and **maiwan** 'often', 'long time', but it has not proved possible to analyse these words. There are some other words in the glossary that end in **-wan** (e.g. **djunawan** 'sick'), but these may be predicates and **-wan** may be a first person singular clitic.

yi-

Yi- (*yey-*) forms terms for 'the day after tomorrow' and 'the day before yesterday':

yirram (-iyu)	morning, tomorrow
yi-yirram	day after tomorrow
thaliyu	yesterday
yi-t(h)alik	day before yesterday [Dja thaliki 'yesterday']

(**Thaliyu** is presumably **thali-(i)yu**; compare **thali-thali** 'twilight'.)

(b) suffixes found on verbs

-barra

This is a verb-forming suffix. It is found in **bun-barra** 'kneel' where **bun** is 'knee' and in **workim-barra** 'to work'. The latter form is reported by Lloyd and so it may belong in the Colac language rather than in Wathawurrung or it may belong to both; **-barra** is to be found in one other Colac verb. The root is clearly Pidgin English **workim** and the use of **-barra** here parallels the use of verb-forming suffixes in other Australian languages used to form verbs from English words including words that are verbs in English. On comparative grounds we would expect separate suffixes for forming transitive and intransitive verbs and if such a distinction was made in Wathawurrung, as seems likely (see below), then **-barra** would have formed intransitive verbs only.

There is a word **kudjing-marra** 'edible root' where **kudjing** means 'eat'. It is possible that **-marra** is a variant of **-barra** with nasal assimilation.

-tjarra/-tjarri

This is a reciprocal marker. It appears to have two forms **-tjarra** and **-tjarri** but the alternation in the second vowel may simply reflect different following inflections that we cannot identify. The first vowel is written *a*, *e* and *i*. It is probably **a**, but pronounced [æ] following a laminal.

*pu/bu (widespread root)	hit	pi-tjarra-	fight
ki-(y)a, ki-la	speak	ki-tjarra-	talk
wa, wa-la	give	wa-tjarra-	barter
		mu-tjarra-	love
		gerrupa-tjarra-	join
turn-	growl, angry	turn-tjarra	quarrel

As already noted in §3.3.1 Mathews gives **-kirri** as the reciprocal:

dual	1 inc	ki-kirri-ngal
plural	1 inc	ki-kirri-gitj

-wa

There may be a causative suffix **-wa**. A comparison of the following pairs suggests this:

djerradja	rise	djerradja-wa-n	waken
tokol	soft	tokol-wa	melt

Note also **dharrawa** 'chase' where **dharra-** remains unidentified. There is also **ga(rr)pma-wa-n** 'vomit' where **ga(rr)p-** remains unidentified (for **-ma** see below). However, some caution is needed since there is also an enclitic pronoun **wan** for first person singular. If **djerradjawan** and **ga(rr)pmawan** do contain **-wa** then we must assume that **-n** is first person singular as in **kilan** 'I speak'.

There is also the form *mir-wak* given by Thomas as 'a spy', but looking suspiciously like a verb **mirrwa** with an imperative **-k**. Whether noun or verb this form invites comparison with **mirr** 'eye'.

Luise Hercus (1986:48) points out that there is an intensive **-uwa** in Wemba-Wemba.

-ma

In the majority of Australian languages there is a derivational suffix **-ma** among the verb morphology, sometimes a causative, sometimes associated with transitive verbs without any specific causative meaning. There is clearly a formative **-ma** found in verbs in Wathawurrung, mainly on transitive verbs (see also Hercus 1986:49 for **-ma** in Wemba-Wemba). Note that some of the following entries contain a first order suffix **bu-**, probably a reflex of the widespread root ***bu** 'to hit'. Note also that some of these entries exhibit the prestopped nasals that developed in the language.

bakopma	to open
bum-bupma	to drown
darra-bil-bu(p)ma	to arouse
djawama	to moisten
djimburrma	to aim
dugalma	to dig
durruma	to tear
garrpma-wa	(to) vomit (WW, We garrma)
gupma	to do, to bring
kolima	to nurse
lapma	to skin
mapma	to catch (YY mama , Woi mama 'hold', 'grab')
marrima-buma	to fold
mirrma	to press
nayirrirrma	to chafe, to wipe
nenema	to grin
ngaalpbuma	to break
ngarrama	to burn
nyima	to shut one's eyes
tjurrkurrma	to spit
waima	to carry, to lift

walima	to stop
wirrpma	to taste, to touch, to use

-la

There is a derivational suffix **-la** found on transitive verbs. Some but not all examples seem to be causative. Hercus (1986:48) records an intensive/frequentative **-ile** in Wemba-Wemba.

wayn.gurr	good, right	wayn.ga-la	make good
gupma	do	gupmala	keep
ki-(y)a	talk	ki-la	talk
kitjarra	talk		
wa	give	wa-la	give
lungga	cry	lunggala	cry [= 'cry over/for'?]
mama	catch	mamala	catch
burrnga	blow	burrngala	blow with the breath
wanga	make	wangala	make
kumba(la)	sleep	kumbala	lie down
ngal	quiet	ngal-ngal-la	reconcile

-mili

There appears to be a formative **-mili** in verbs as in the following,

galamili	to scratch	
gurngarramila	voluntary	cf. gumgarrangunyan in Thomas t3 list
moyumili	to tell a lie	cf. moyu-gunang 'liar'
ngarrimili	to dance	cf. CV ngarrka
tirrimilin	tired	
yurrimili	to swing	
yurritjarrapmili	to return	

-na

A number of verbs end in **-na**. This may be a formative, but we have not been able to identify any stems. There is a formative **-na** in Wemba-Wemba, which Hercus (1986:49) tentatively identifies as an intensive. Note the prestopped nasals in the first three entries.

bakurtna	to bore a hole	nyuna to tie
birtna	to scrape	
gurratnabang	salt	
kolpana	to break	
lag(r)na-bulen	to separate	[cf. bulatj 'two's']
marruna	to plait, to twist	
witna	to pull	

4. GLOSSARY

The glossary contains all the words contained in our sources, each in its original notation, except for a few words in Tuckfield's sentences that we cannot provide a gloss for. In most cases we have given a broad phonetic transcription, but in a few instances, mainly where there is only a single source, we have declined to make an attempt. We have also included some cognates from other languages, particularly from other Victorian languages, but no attempt has been made to do this systematically. Cognates from Wemba-Wemba (WW) are from Hercus (1986, 1992), and cognates from Madhi-Madhi (Ma) and Wergaia (We) are from Hercus (1986). Cognates from other Victorian languages are from a variety of early records.

As noted in §1.3, Thomas's *Melbourne* list (t3) is basically Woiwurrung though it has a high percentage of words in common with the Wathawurrung sources. It has been included, but items from this list that are not confirmed from other sources have not been transcribed. Thomas's *Ballarat* list (t1) is Tjapwurrung, but we have included some words from this list in our sources where we felt corroboration of Wathawurrung words was useful. Forms from t3 and t1 are given in square brackets. Where the t3 or t1 form is the same as the t2 form, the notation [t3] is given following the t2 entry.

Lloyd's list is a mixture of Wathawurrung and the Colac language. All words have been included with our sources, but we have not transcribed any words from Lloyd that are not corroborated.

It is not always clear, especially with verbs, how to isolate inflections. Where the break is not clear we have included the inflection.

English	Phonetic	Sources
Aborigines	kin-kin-bil	kin-kin-bil 'the blacks' tus ¹³
above	ko[m]bangi, kombaba	kog ba gne tu, tus, kom-ba-po-nuk tu [see <i>up</i>]
afraid	nga(rr)p-kunang	ngahrp-koon-ung t2, ngahrp-koon-ung t2 'coward' [cf. kurnang <i>excrement</i>] [bahm-boon-yung t3]
afraid	ngalbil-	ngalblinyan m, ngahl-bill-laynyun t2, conar gnal bil een 'Are you afraid' r, Ko-nar ngalbaleen? 'Are you afraid?' das [cf. <i>quiet</i>]
aim, to	djimburma	dyim-boor-mak [tl], t2 [dahgood-dahgood-bamgih-bahboo t3]
air		manabyupjay p
alive	murrun	mooron ey, muron m, muron 'to live' [WV, CV]
and	baa(p)	bah t2, barp tu, tus [WV, CV baa]
angry	girta? djirta?	gyirtahk t2 [see <i>sulky</i>] [yahn-ay-yoo 'go away' t3]
angry	t[h]urn-	tundiareen r, turno, tus, toorninyan 'angry, sulky' ds, turno tus [yoon-durrin-uke l Colac word?] Possibly the same root in tjurn- 'to growl' [Warlpiri tuurn 'hot']
angry	mulmul-boyu	mul-mul boyu(t) tus
ankle	djerrin? gerrin?	gerrin t2 [see <i>centipede</i>]
ankle	barn	barn-etuk tuw, barn-gnetuk tu [bun t3] [see <i>heel</i>][Woi]
another	yanyuk?	yarknook pw [Tjap, Dja yuwanuk]
answer, to	ngarrwa	ngar-ewak t2 [ngar-ngak t3] [see <i>hear</i>]
ant	tarro	taro r
ant	baatj	bahty t2
ant, bulldog	ngurrang	ngurung rhm
ant, large	kalkith	kalkeeth mo [Tjap kalkitj 'white ant', Dja kalkitj 'pupae of ant'; Warlpiri karlkitji 'bullant']
apple	marrp-i-gurr	mahr-bay-goor t2 [Woi marrp 'kidney', 'fat'; cf. gurr 'tree', 'flower' Possibly introduced apple NS]

¹³ Since Aborigines do not normally have a word for 'Aborigines', the gloss is suspect. LH suggests it may be a demonstrative, perhaps 'these people'; compare **kin-djangi** 'over there'.

apron, woman's	djirrburnin	dyirburnin rhm [Dja dhirriburni]
apron, woman's	ngarratj	ngurraty rhm ¹⁴
apron, man's	barrandjim	burrandyim ri, burrandigim rhm [CV barrandjip 'apron', Dja barrandjim 'men's apron'; Warlpiri parntna- 'to cover']
arm	t[h]arrak	tarak rhm, dah-rak t2, turruck g, turook da, turuk gne tuck r, torak m, tar-ong-etuk tuw, far-ong-gnet-ok ts [WV, CV]
arm, fore	yundap	yoondap pw [Woi, Dja]
armpit	karram, karrap	kar-am-etuk tuw, kar am gnetuk tuw, kurrap rhm [cf. entries for <i>thigh</i>]
arouse, to	darra-bil-bupma	darrap-bill-bopmak t2 ¹⁵ [darrap-bill-goongak t3] [see <i>love, waken</i>]
ashes	manal	munul t2, t3 [see <i>dust</i>]
ask, to	kiya ¹⁶	gah-ak t2 [Tjap giya 'ask', 'speak'; see <i>speak, tell</i>]
aunt	baba-rrang	babarong da
aunt, my	male korrag	male koragik tuw [Colac malan kaug nek 'my aunt', YY malak]
autumn	warrawan	wor-o-won tuw [homophonous with word for <i>sore/pain/wound</i>]
avoid, to	yaninyu-warritj	yaninyook-wority t2 [see <i>go away</i>] [nyayginook-gahtywoot t3]
awake, to		[barrat-car-loon I Colac?]
axe, American	wirrayl-galpun-errak ¹⁷	wirrayly-gahl-poon-erak t2 [see <i>tomahawk, knife</i>]
baby	pupup	poup-poup da, bupup m, bob-bop tu, pu poop r, boh-poop t2 [WV, Warr, CV] ¹⁸
back	wulurn, wirrip	wulurn da, wulurn gne tuck r, wirrip t2 [wirrip is recorded as 'stem' in Tjap]
back there	djiyiwod	ge-e-wod tu

¹⁴ Narrow apron of emu feathers worn by newly initiated woman.

¹⁵ This word may refer to male sexual arousal, in which case **darra** may be **darra** 'tree', 'branch' in the Central Victorian language; also Thomas records **darra** 'short spear'. It may be that the first element is **dharra-** 'to stand'; see *waken, get up*.

¹⁶ Although Thomas's spelling suggests **a**, a consideration of other entries such as *question* suggests **e** or **i**.

¹⁷ Thomas has a macron over the final **y** of the first word, which means that it is not syllabic.

¹⁸ In compounds there is a form **babup**. See *calf, pregnant, puppy*.

backward, go	ningga	ning-ga tuw
bad	nyulam, nyulim	noolam tu, neulem da, nyulam rhm, nool-lim t2, nyulam m, nullem r, newlem tuw, new-lem tuw, noolam ey, c noolam 'no' c, neulam mos, noollem 'rough' t2 [t3] [CV]
bag/sack	mugerr-mugerr	mooger-mooger da, moogur-moogur t2 [t3] [Woi mugerra-mugerra , Dja mugerr-mugerr , YY muka-muka]
bag, net	kurrarra	kurara rhm [see kurrurr 'stringybark (tree)']
bag, small	ngurnen	knurnen tu
bald	yawang	yowang r
bandicoot	bu	bo da, r, boh t2 [Woi bung , Dja bu]
banksia	wurrak	woor-rek t2 [t3], woraek r, woraik r, wor-ark (also won-ark) tuw 'tree', [Tjap, Dja, Woi wurrak] [<i>Banksia marginata</i> NS]
bark	karrung	garong, korrong 'bark, for house' tuw [see <i>house/hut</i>]
bark	murrit?	moredit g, mooriet ey, moorat c
bark, tree	karnomurra	cur no mura r
bark, tree	wurratj	woor-ai-ty t2 [t3]
barter, to	wa-tjarra-la	wot-yar-al-le-wot tuw [wa 'give', - tjarra RECIP, - la CAUSATIVE]
bashful	derraba	torabee da, tirabe r, der-a-ba 'shame' tu [see <i>shame</i>]
basket	bin(h)ak, binyak	biniae g, bimac r, biniac r, ben-yek 'small bag' tu [Woi bin(h)ak]
bat, a	nganin-nganitj	ngunnin-ngunnity t2 [t3] ¹⁹
be		See <i>stop, stay</i>
beat, to	belbu	pel bok tuw [see <i>hit with hand</i>]
beat, to	tjilpa-	tyilpai rhm [see <i>hit</i> ; Dja, CV]
beat, to	waikarra	wai-karra t2 [see <i>conquer</i> ; Tjap]
bed	kumbayon	goon-by-yon t2 ²⁰ [gnyallam-bun-nun t3]

¹⁹ Howitt records **ngunin-ngunut** for Woiwurrung.

bedding, dry grass	dam-dam	dam-dam tu
bedstead	ta(r)t	tart tuw
beetle	narron	narone r
before (ere)	nyanbo	nyanbo t2 [Dja ngan.go ; see <i>first</i>], win-nyahr-ahr t2 [seems to be 'what you?'] [win-ter-woor-ding t3]
believe	ngarrwa-	gnar-wan 'I believe' tus [see <i>hear</i>]
bellbird	tinwarri	tin warre r [Thomas gives <i>trin-warren</i> in Woi]
below it	monowan(uk)	mon-o-won-nuk tuw [see <i>under</i>]
bend, to	milpa	mill-puck t2 [WV]
big	di(r)dabil	durdahbill t2, dittabil rhm, dedabul l, titabel r, dedabul, detable, detarbul tu, dedarbil 'plenty', detarbul ey, didibil m [meekabill t3] [see <i>old</i>]
bird	yonbarra	yonbarrah p
bird	waki	waakee t
bird	kolpatarro	kol-par-tar-o tuw
bird		wer e grow-ert tuw
bird	nerremba	ner-em-bar tuw
bird, aquatic	kandelop	kan de lop tuw
bird, black, white bill	kerndi	kern di tuw
bird, grey	do(rr)ng	dorng tuw
bird, small		kon e mue tuw
bird, small	tawerr-tawerr	tow er tow ert tuw
bird, small	labalerrp	lar bar lerp tuw [cf. WW lerreb 'landrail']
bird, small	korromon	ko-ro-mon tuw
bird, small	bo(r)ningom	born-ing-om tuw
bite, to	buna	boon-nahk t2 [boon-dahk t3], pone tuw, rhm, bono tu [WV, Warr, CV]

²⁰ This has been corrected to **kumbayon** on the basis of Tjap **kumbayon**, which invites comparison with **kumba** 'to sleep'.

bitter	kurrayn	gurraim rhm, korine tuw [see <i>salt</i>]
black	wurr-garrabil	woor-garrah-bill t2 [noor-garrah-bill t3], wurkarapil m, [CV; see 3.7.3]
black	wurr-garriyn	wurgarin rhm, wodgaring g, worg gareem r [similar forms in wurr- in WV, see 3.7.3]
blackbird (= ?)	yarren	yar-en tuw
blackfish	wirabiyn	wer a ben tu, wirrepiyn rhm, wirabeen r, wira binya 'for fish' das [CV wirrap ; see <i>fish</i>]
blanket	yelatneburrang	ye-lat-nay-boor-ang t2 [also Tjap; YY yalaneborrang]
blind	nyi(p)ma	nyip-mah t2, nyima m [see <i>shut your eyes</i>] [ngyai-yah-boon-ngnyah-nga t3]
blind	n[h]im-n[h]im	nim nim 'blindness' r [Tjap nyim 'blind', Dja nyima 'blind']
blood	kurrk	kork da, goork t2, cork r, kuruk m, corrick p, goorook 'bone' ey, goortan yook pw [WV, Colac, CV]
blossom	garrpmurrk	gahrp-moork t2 [see <i>flower, head</i>]
blow (with breath)	burnga(la)	boor-ngak t2, borng-al-la tu [booring-gak t3] [Dja burrungin , see 3.7.3]
blue	marra-narrap	murra nurrup r, murra nunup r
blue	torrarren	tor-ar-en tuw [dir-boor-dah-bill t3]
blue	gurr-gurr-warring	goor-goor-wahring t2 [see 3.7.3]
boat, canoe	gurrong	gurung rhm, korong c, corong l [goor-rung t3] [CV]
body	durrap	doorapneuk mos
body	beng	bangik pw [Tjap, see <i>flesh</i>]
boil [to?]	bilporre	bil-po-re tu [see <i>jump</i>]
bone	nyil, nyayl	nal p, gnyill t2, gnail gne tuck r [Tjap nyil , CV nyilang , see <i>vertebrae</i>]
boomerang	wan.gim	wangim g, ey, rhm, tu, m, wongern tuw, wangam r, wahn-gimm t2, wangaam mo [CV wan.gim , YY wanya , root wan- widespread]
boomerang, heavy	da(rr)ke	darke tu
boot	dalang-i djina	dahl-lang-ay-dyinnah t2, t1 [= skin of foot; see <i>skin, rug, foot</i>]]

bore, to (hole)	bakurtna	bah-koordnak t2 [bah-goornak t3]
bottom/rump	mum	moom-nyin t [moom-inn t3] [WV, Warr, CV]
bottom/rump	womolu	wom-ol-u tuw [see <i>thigh joint</i> ; for 'at the bottom' see <i>under</i>]
bowels	yolo(rr)g	yologr gne tuck r
bowels	werro	wer-o-gnet-uk tuw, wara tus [Colac warra]
bowels	djurrung-djurrung	dyurung dyurung m [Tjap d[h]urrung-bili]; see <i>heart</i>]
boy	kulkurn-guli	gulkurguli rhm, golkonkuli m [see <i>man, young; man</i> ; [YY gokamulka]
boy	burron	bool-lon t2, boron r, boron tus, boron 'son' pw [see <i>child</i>]
brain	ton-ton	ton-ton-nuk tuw [Dja turtoyn, CV durn-durn]
bramble	morroyok	mo ro yok tuw, tu ²¹ [<i>Acaena novae-zelandiae</i> , formerly <i>Acaena anserinifolia</i> NS]
branch, tree	darra-kalk	durrah-gahlk t2 [CV darrang 'tree', kalk widespread Vic 'wood', 'stick']
bread		see <i>damper</i>
break	kalpona	kol ba nuk tu, kal-port-na tus [WB kalpa 'to cut'] ²²
break	bukomo	bukomo m [Tjap pukunga] [lahr-lahk t3]
break, to	ngaalsuma	ngahl-poh-mahk t2
break, to (give way)	werraa	wer-a-a tuw
breakfast	kodjiladiyn	codgil ardeen r [see <i>dinner</i>]
bream	kiang purt	ge-ang-port tu, kiang burt r
breast	baab	baab c [YY bayi]
breast	tjurram	tyuram rhm, door-ahm t2, to-rom etuk tuw, tyuram m
breastbone	kon-kon	kon-kon-etuk tuw
breathe heavily, to	tonyawortno	ton-gna-wort-no tuw
bridge	molokbo(rr)	molokbor r

²¹ Murriyuk for Bidgee-widgee is found in Woiwurrung.

²² Possibly related to kalpurn 'knife'.

bridle	wurranyu-gurraak	woorainyoo-goora-ahk t2 [t3] [wurru ‘mouth’]
bring forth, to		ber ne tu
bring, to		goopo-mahk t2 ²³ [goong-ahk t3] [corange-lun-dun l Colac word?]
bring, to	mutjaka	mutyaka m [mutjaka Tjapwurrung]
bring	kombanbi	combanby g [also given as ‘come’]
brittle	talorra	tal-lo-ra-a tuw
broлга	porronggitj	poronggity rhm, porongity ri, por-onget tuw, borangeit m, porengit c [similar words given for <i>partridge, quail</i>]
brother	koki	koki da m [Warr koko ‘younger brother’; Warlpiri kuku.rni ‘younger brother’]
brother		baryti da
brother	tati	tati da [Colac tirta , Thag tata]
brother	wanung	warnoong ey, tu
brother		meli da
brother, elder	yandang	yandang p
brother, elder	wardang, wardung	wardang rhm, waartoong c, wardong r, wordong ‘brother’ tuw, wahdong ‘brother’ t2, warounyuk m, war dyik ‘my elder bro’ g [Warr warti , Tjap wa(r)dong]
brother, younger	wangat	wangat rhm, waangut c, yangat p, wangatuk m, wagnakik ‘my bro’ tuw, weng-ut da
brother, youngest	djidji	dedeik tuw, dyee dyik g [det-et t3] [Woi dhidhith ; Warlpiri djidja-warnu lit. shoulder- warnu ‘younger sibling’]
brown	djirrala-bil	geerallabill t2 [geeralla-bil t3]
bruise	bolmo	bol-mo tug [also given as <i>wring out</i>]
bucket, wooden	darnuk	dar-nook tu, dar-nook ‘wooden bowl’ tu [Dja, Woi tarnuk]
bullock	nyirrm-buyerrung	nyirm-boo-yer-oong t2 [nyirm-doo-ying t3] [see <i>long</i>]
bunyip	banyip	bunyip t, bunyip mo [also YY]

²³ This must be **gupma**, the regular equivalent for **gung(k)a** in t3. The expected meaning is ‘to do’.

burn, to	ngarrama	ngarra-mak t2 [dondymak t3] [Woi]
bury, to	ba(yt)nyuma	bait-nyoo-mah t2 [point-no tus, bein-bein t3]
butter	dinaak	deen-nahk t2 [dayn-nahk t3]
butterfly	balim-balim	bullim-bullim t2 [t3] [WV, CV]
buy	merri-	mering tus
by and by	nyumiyt	numiet pw [Dja nyumutj]
by and by	malo, male	malo r, mal-lo da, male 'awhile' tuw [Tjap muluk malin , Woi malemal 'later']
by-and-by	barra-barra	burra-burra da [Woi]
calf	babab-i bulgina	bababy-boolginna t2 ²⁴ [waiaby boolginna t3]
call	karna(ka)	kahrn-ah-kah 'bawl' t2 [doombah-ganyook 'bawl' t3], karn-o-gnul-len 'calling to us two' tu [YY <i>ganya(nda)</i>]
calm	didalaa	did-dul-a-a tu [YY dutula]
camp	karrung	garroong t2, karong c, m [see <i>bark, house, hut</i>]
canoe	yawut	yaoot c
canoe	yugoip	yogoip m [We, Ma yungwip , WW yungwidj , Tjap yuguip]
canoe	yinya-yinya	yinya yunyu r
canoe	yawaleluk	yow-war-lai-look t2 [Tjap yawagaluk]
cap	guparr-murrk ²⁵	goo-bahr-mook t2 [see <i>head</i>] [go-barn-gow-arrng t3] [Colac gubarra-murrk]
carry, to	dula	doo-lah t2
carry, to	waima	wamok m[waign-dun t3] [see <i>lift</i>]
cash	da(r)n-garrabil	darn-garrabill t2 [Tjap da(r)n-da(r)nitj see <i>white</i>] [darn-dartabill t3]
cat, native	yurn	ee-oo-ren t2, yourn tuw, yurn rhm, yorn r [WV, CV yurn]
catch, to	mamela	ma-mel-a-gnet tuw [pud-car-nook l Colac?]

²⁴ **Bulgana/bulgina** appears in a number of languages for various domesticated beasts. In Tuckfield's texts **bulginna** is 'sheep'.

²⁵ This word may contain **kobarra** 'head', a word from Dharuk (Sydney) used in nineteenth-century pidgin and still used in northern Australian creole.

catch, to	mapma	mapmak rhm, t2 [YY mama , Woi mama 'grab']
catch, to	bakunirri	bakunirring rhm
cattle		bungana g [= widespread bulgana ? See entries for <i>calf</i> , <i>lamb</i>]
centipede	djirrangarrak	dyirrangarrak rhm, gerring-nyerrick t2, dyerrangarak ri [Tjap t[h]irring-bangarrak, Woi dhirran-mararak]
chafe, to		nayerer-mak t2 [Tjap nyerna] [merirrmak t3]
chain, a	dril-dril? dirl-dirl?	drill-drill t2 [t3] [Tjap]
chalk	papul	pappul t2 [bik t3]
charcoal	nye(r)n	ngyen t2 [t3], gnern r [see <i>tinder</i>]
chase, to	dharrawa	derrahnuk t2, darrar-wuk t2 [derrawuk t3] [Woi]
cheek	wang	wahng t2, waeng da, wang m, wang gne tuck r [wang-gnyimm 'chin' t3] [CV, Gipps, also Gabi (Q)]
cherry tree	kirra-nyuk	kiraneuk da, kiraenk r [Probably = 'its leaf/leaves', see <i>leaf</i> , <i>tea</i> , <i>vegetable</i>]
cherry tree, native	baloyt, buloyt	baloitt, booloyt t2 [Dja bulotj , Woi buloyt], boom t2 [<i>Exocarpus cupressiformis</i> NS]
chicken	babab-i-yawa	bapaby-yow-war t2 [young of chook? See <i>child</i>]
chief	ngarrwit	nourenit r, nare-nit r, arweet r
child	babab	pappapik 'my child' ds
child	burron	boarum g, burun rhm, burunbalok m, boron 'little girl' b [also given for <i>boy</i>]
chin	ngarnda	ngurnduk da, ngahrn-duk t2, ngandak m, gnelt e gnern der etuk tuw, gnrndne gne tuck r [Woi, see <i>whiskers</i>] [wang-gnyimm t3]
chop	daa	dah-ahk t2 [Tjap dakwa]
clap, to	dhilpa-marna	dillpak-munna-nyin t2 [= beat hands, see <i>hit</i>]
clasp the hands	detelbomele-marnaa	daytell-bo-mellay-murna-a t2 [daytell-kongak-murna-nyinn t3] [see <i>hand</i>]
climb	ka(d)na	kadne rhm, kan-nok tus
climb	karranggiyt	carrungeit g [cf. garra 'tread']

close	wanap-merring	wan-up-mer-ing tuw
cloud	durn-marrng	durnmarung rhm, tunmarng m, doorn-mahr t2 [t3], do-ong-marng tuw [WV, Colac marrng], lark ey ²⁶
cloud	wurr-wurr	wurrah g, wor wor r [see <i>sky</i>]
club	warr-warr	warawar m [see <i>waddy</i>]
club, fighting	liang(w)il	liangal rhm, jeangwell t, leangil pw [= tooth having; similar forms in WV, CV; see <i>waddy</i>]
cobweb	yerrok	yay roc r
cockatoo	karraka(rr)	coragur r [= corella? cf. katjakarr WV]
cockatoo, black	djarriyn	dyering rhm, tyering ri, dar-en tuw, deren tu [WS tjerrin 'black cockatoo with red', YY djarrin(g)]
cockatoo, black	wirran	wiiran m [WV]
cockatoo, white	djirnap	dyirnap rhm, kinnap c, dyinap m, dyin-ap t2 [t3] [WV djinyap]
cold	mutang-	moot-ang-ay t2 [moorh-ung-gnyahn t3], molongetting ey, motoongating c, mordo ning r [mut- occurs in WV, e.g. Dja mutangin]
cold	munmut	munmot m [Tjap mu(r)nmot ; see <i>wind</i>]
cold	pirriyn	[peerin l Colac?] [Woi 'winter', see <i>wind</i> ; Warlpiri pirriya 'cold (atmosphere)']
come back, to	yan.garramela	yan gar a mel-a tuw [CA yan- 'go']
come	kombanbi	combanby g [also given as 'bring'. LH suggests -i is 2 nd person sing. intrans. imperative as in WV]
come, to	ku(rr)-ku(rr)	goor-goor t2 [t3], ko-ko 'come on' c; [yarreyan l Colac?]
come, to	wada	wata m, wadda r [Tjap] [see <i>go</i>]
conquer, to	waikarra	wai-karra t2 [t3] [Tjap; see <i>beat</i>]
cook	wan.ke-	wan-ke-kot tuw
corner	yemnam	yem-num tuw

²⁶ Laak is the Central Victorian word.

corpse	nyilbal(uk)	gnyill-bah-ahlook t2, (dur-lai-ung) gnyill-bah-ahlo 'dead body' t2 [ngahlam-bohn-gnyill t3, ngahlam-bon-gnyill 'dead body' t3] [see <i>bone</i>]
cough, a	bo(rr)k(e)	bork tu, da, borke r
court, to	gurt-d[h]erri-	goort-dering-ahl t2 [wahrn-derrip-bah-mahl t3] [-dherri /tjarri = RECIP]
covering	komerring	komering tu; carra-nuke l [Colac?]
cow	nyirm-do(rr)	nyirm-dor t2 [t3] [= long-? See <i>bullock</i>]
crab	wordel	wordel tu
crab		weit tu, wear tu
crab		niar tuw
crack (sharp sound)	dawalma	dow-wulmo t2, dow-we-illin [t3]
crayfish	tjorriiong	tchoriong c [cf. <i>fish, saltwater</i>]
crayfish	bambam	bambam m
crayfish	wiyitj	wi-ity rhm
crayfish	ngarryarr	ngar-yahr t2 [t3], gnarier r
crayfish, small	mayayn	may yane
creator	karringalabil	kari-gnal-a-bil tu
cricket, mole	dundol	doon dol r [Tjap tarrondal]
crooked	milpala	mill-bell-ing t2 [see <i>bend</i>] [mell-ah-gully-bai t3]
crooked	nguning-nguning ²⁷	nguring nguring m [Tjap nguning nguning]
crow	waa	wa rhm, c, r, m, waa wi, p, wah-ah t2, waakee mo [similar forms widespread]
cry/weep	lungawa, lungga(la)	long-ah-wahn t2, loonga-wahn t2, long-ga-la tus, loong-ge da, longga m, lung-hi r [widespread lung]
cuckoo	kaduk	cardooc r [Dja kaRuk] [also given as <i>owl</i>]
cut	taakot	ta-a-kot tuw
cut [to]	lurrga-	lor-ger-ing tuw, loorgat 'cross-cut saw' t2 [t3]

²⁷ A number of other sources in other languages have **n** where Mathew has **r**. It looks as if there is a misprint in Mathew.

cut, to	kalpuda	kal-poor-dak t2 [t3], kol bo dering tu [gahl-billing-ngirk t3] [see <i>knife</i>]; karra-kin t2 'cut with a stone', but = <i>stone</i> [WB kalbuda 'to cut']
daisy	pimbit	pim-bit tu [Woi bimbat 'swamp daisy'] [<i>Brachyscome cardiocarpa</i> NS]
daisy (?)	tamburn	tambourn b ²⁸ [<i>Podolepis</i> species NS]
damper	nyurrang	nyoo-rung t2, wanarung 'bread' bs, new-rong 'bread' tus [Woi ngurrang] ²⁹
dance	nyerika	kneerekeyan ey, gnyayry-kah t2 [t3], yergeh rhm
dance, to	ngarrimili	ngarry-milly t2, narimilly mos, ngare milly das [CV ngarrga]
dance, a	ngarrem-[ng]arrem	knur em ur em tu
dark	murrkal	moorgal c, murkal m, margal r [see <i>night, evening</i>]
daughter	yarrang	yarrangook p
daughter, my	wurring	woorongagik 'my' g, uoorngak t2, worn gak r, wong-gongik 'my daughter' tuw [Colac wurrngkat , Thag warngat]
day	yerram	yeramb c [Woi, see <i>morning</i>]
day	mirri(yu)	mere tuw, mirriyu ey, rhm, tu, mir-ryo t2, mirriyo m [sun/day-ALLATIVE; see <i>sun, today</i>] ³⁰
day	morrayayl	morrayail p
dead	dirda	detarwa ey, tu, dedak tu, dedac l, dedangatoo c, dita'a m [see <i>die</i>]
deaf	bang-bang, bangali	bong bong m, bang-bang t2, bunga leen r 'deafness' [see <i>ignorant</i>]
deaf	turt wirring	dort-dort-wirring t2 [= shut ear] ³¹ [gnyaiup-but-gnyahrm-kahly t3]
dear	kawok	cawoc r
deep	dop(nyuk)	dopnyook t2 [doom t3] The <i>-nyook</i> may be 3 rd person possessor.

²⁸ NS relates Wedge's reference to 'native women gathering tambourn roots' to a woman's name *tumbuurn* meaning 'native daisy' recorded by Dawson (1881:46).

²⁹ Dawson refers to cooking and kneading roots of *Convolvulus* and *Clematis*. Cf. **nyurru-nyurru** 'red ochre' NS.

³⁰ **Mirri** also occurs in northern Australia, e.g. Gooniyandi.

³¹ **Turt wirring** is genuine in that it is also attested in Woiwurrung, but Thomas notes **bang-bang** 'is better'. NS points out that the first element is probably to be identified with CV **durt-** 'to shut'.

deep	wolong-wolongga	wol-long-wol-long-ga tuw
destroy, to	buladi-ingamu	bolahdy-ingahmoo t2 [boolahrga-ingahmoo t3] [Woi buladu 'big'; cf. <i>irritate</i>]
devil	pundjil ka(r)ne	punjel-kar-ne tus, tug
dew	thurr	tor da, r, tar r, jur tuw [Dja turr-mitj ; see <i>tears</i>]
die, to	kadjal-wurne	kudgulwurnay mos
die, to	dirda	dirta'a m, dird-duk t2, de-da-won 'I shall die' tus [see <i>dead, old</i> ; put-murri-nook I [Colac?]]
dig, to	dugalma	doogulmak t2
dig, to	bobi	bob bi tu
dig, to		kor mo tuw
dinner	kudjiliyn	codgil een r [see 'breakfast']
dirty		bah-nyoom-elly-kun t2 [yoong-gaht-yin-bee-koot t3]
dirty	tarrarriyn	tarareen da, r
dirty	korromelen	kor-o-mel-en tuw [cf. kurrak sand]
dissolve, to	totalwatno	tot-tol-wat-no tuw
disturbance, do not make		gnala gare toor ne r [= not-angry??]
dive		lor-ko-mo gnet tuw [Tjap <i>lukaera</i> ; cf. <i>cut</i>]
divide, to		bert ner ing tu
do	gupma	kop-me tus, kop-mel-la tus, gohp-nahk 'do your work' t2 ³² [goong-ahk 'do your work' t3]
doctor, wise man	wirrirrap	wirirrap da [CV]
dog	ka(a)l	garl tu, rhm, ey, karl tuw, gahl t2, cal r, kaal g, kal c [WV, Warr]
dog, native	ka(rr)ming kaal	carming cal [gohee-muty <i>one?</i> t3]
dog, native	da(rr)wal	tarwal m, durwall g, dur-wal t2 [see <i>wild</i>]
dream, to or a	yeye-djili	ye-yey-dyileen da, yay-yay-dilly-nun t2

³² The form is **gopma** where it occurs in compounds etc. The form with **n** seems to be an error. The meaning is presumably just 'do'.

drink, to	ngupa-, ngupi-	ngobiith c, ³³ ngupilin m, ngohpak t2, kno boc nut r [CV, Tjap, Dja ngupa-], knurtel-nopeet; [wolli-gar-uke l Colac] [Warlpiri ngupala 'urine']
drop, to	baapwirri	bahp-woo-ring t2 [see <i>fall</i>]
drown	bumbupma	bom-bop-me tus, bom-bop-mo tus
dry	derrm	derm tu
dry	ta(r)n-garriyu	tarn-gar-e-u tuw [also glossed as <i>white</i>]
duck, black	tulum	thulum rhm, tolom c, tulum m, dolumm t2 [t3]; foll. given as 'duck': to-lom tuw, tullum r, tooloom l, yullum r [widespread Vic], wod jok tuw ³⁴
duck, mountain	wanyukai	wanyukai rhm, won-ok-gi tuw
duck, teal	bernarr	bern-nurr t2 [t3], birnar rhm, bar-na 'duck' tu, barnar 'duck' tuw [WV bernerr]
duck, wood	wurwirt	wurwirt rhm, worowirt m
dumb	nyala-gela	ngallah-gy-illing t2 [= not speak] [lai-a-put-dyoom-bar-boon t3]
dust	ma(r)nul	murnol tuw, munnool 'dusty' t2 [t3] [see <i>ashes</i>]
eagle	marrubak	murrubbuck g
eagle	bundjil	boondyill t2 [CV]
eagle	barrit	bar-it tuw ³⁵
eagle	biyuyang	be-u-young tuw [see 'hawk']
eagle	ngarromga(rr)	gnar-om-gar tuw, ngaromgar mm, ngarapgar rhm [see <i>hawk</i>]
eagle	kolkawil	kol ka will tuw
eagle	lok-lok	lok-lok tuw
eagle	wabet	wa-bet tuw
eagle	merrompial	maiompial p
eagle	warrawa	war a war r, wur a war r [Western Desert warlawurru]

³³ **Ngupiyt** is probably a noun. See *tears*.

³⁴ Tuckfield's *wod-djok* is uncorroborated and the form is the same as that given for 'to us' in Tuckfield's texts.

³⁵ Thomas gives *par-rite* for 'sparrow hawk' in Woiwurrung.

ear	wirrng	wern rhm, wering da, wirng m, t2, worn p, wer etuk tuw, wirngatuk c, weeringaduk mos, worringaduck g, weering gne tuck r, wingook pw [WV, Warr, CV wirrng]
eat, to	kudja(la)	kudyak rhm, gutyilin m, gootak t2, co jac nut r, coidungeit 'chew' g, co jung it r, kud gella, kud gala tuw, koodjalla c, cogalla l, cogileen 'to taste' r
echidna	mon.ngarrk	monngark m, morn gnar ok tuw
eel	bun(i)ya	boonea mo [Tjap bunya(r)t]
eel	gowayn	goang rhm, koang g, co ang r, goh-waing t2, ko- ine tu [cf. <i>fish</i>]
eel, large, brown	babaniyn	babbanien mo
eel, small	mo(r)dong	mordong
egg	tayn	tain nuke r
egg	kayi	gyee t2, kie c, ja p [birring t3] [poa-jong l Colac word]
elbow	baluth	balluty rhm, balloot t2, pullot da, palort gne tuck r, bol-on-etuk tuw [Tjap, Dja, Woi] ³⁶
embrace, to	delama-	dellarmit-tan-nyin t2 [dellarm-mar-ngahn t3]
empty	ngamgarrin	ngamgarin m [ngaiah-urunyar t3] [see ngan-ngan 'no']
empty	barrakaa	burra-kah-ah t2 [see <i>no</i> , <i>enough</i>]
emu	kawirr	kar-wer eyw, tuw, karwir da, rhm, m, kaurwir g, kowe ey, kowe tu, curwee b, kowir c, kar wire r, kahr-wirr t2 [WV kawirr] [goorree-e t3] [barang- mal l Colac]
encircle, to	mamama	mah-mummak t2 [mah-muk t1] [warra-bwah t3]
end, the	darradji-aalk	durrahgy-ahlk t2 [dayn-boodabil t3]
enemy	warrang gabel	warang gabel r; bungilcarney l [Colac?, but punjel- kar-ne tus, tug 'devil']
enough	borrak-wa	borac-wah l [see <i>no</i> , <i>empty</i>]
enough	nant-ni	nant-ni tus, nant ne tus
evening	morrgaryu	mor gal u [see <i>dark</i> , <i>night</i> YY mukul-mukul]

³⁶ The notations of this word overlap with those for *cherry*, but the latter seems to be **buloyt**. Tuckfield records *bolon* also in the Colac language.

everywhere		kal-la-ma la kor den tuw, kal-me-mal-me tuw
excrement	kunang	koonang t2 [kuna widespread]
eye	mirr	mer-gnet-ok eyw, mir gnetuk tuw, mir g, rhm, c, myrr da, mere p, mer t2, myr gne tuck r, mirrook tu, ey, mirrouk mos, mi m [WV, Warr, CV mirr(ng) , YY miyul , widespread mil ; WD mira-nu ‘watch’]
eye, shut your	nyipma	nyip-me t2 [see <i>blind</i>]
eyeball	derrng-derrng-i-mirr	dermk-dermk-gne-mir-etuk tuw [see <i>eyebrow</i>]
eyebrow	narramana	naramana mos
eyebrow	ko mirr	ko mir etuk tuw
eyebrow	wart-i mirr	wurdi-myrr da [see <i>eyelid</i>]
eyebrow	ta(r)no mirr	tar no mer gnetuk tuw [Tjap tanyuk mirrng ‘eye its egg’; see ‘egg’]
eyebrow, hair of forehead	ngarr-i mayn	gnar-i-maan da, gnar y main r [= hair of forehead]
eyelash	tharratj-i mirr	tar-i-je-mir-etuk tuw, dharaty rhm, tarad-i-myrr da [Colac t[h]arrat-nyinuk-mirr-ne]
eyelid	wart-i mirr	wurtimir rhm, wor-de mir etuk tuw [= skin (?) of eye, cf. Yorta, Pallanganmiddang wata ‘skin’] ³⁷
face	mirr-bang	mirrabang mos, merp-baung etuk tuw, mirbang m, mir bang gne tuck r [= eye (of the) body]
faint, to	mimbaarri	mim-bahr-inyun t2 [ngunyin-ngahn-goorman t3]
fall down	taalen	ta-a-len tuw
fall, to	bapwirri	bahp-wirry t2, bowere tu, ba’oorin m [see <i>drop</i>] [ngahlam-baht-yan t3]
far		gayoumais t2 [warreek t3]
fat	mambula	maamboolatuk c [Woi ma(rr)mbula]
fat	korriyt	koreetook ey
fat	kat-	kat neuk [see <i>food</i>]
fat	djen	genn t2 [dayn-dyinn t3]
father	gurrau	goor-rahu t2

³⁷ Note also Tjapwurrung **wart** ‘back’. The Colac form is **wart-nyinuk-mirr-ne**.

father	pitjarr(ng)	peet yerik r, peet-ya-rik da, pedouring ettuk ey, tu, pedong tuw, pedong-etuk tuw, pittong p, pettyang rhm, bitjung c, bitang m, pidjarong 'old man' c [barrim-ba-bai-ung-ay t3]
feather	kurran	goor-run t2, coran b, korranuck g [see <i>tribesman</i> , <i>feather</i>]
feel, to		comugeen r
female	narro	nurro r
few	marren-korren	ma-ren-koren 'a small number' tuw
fight [to]	bitjarra	beet-ye-rung-ah t2, pejaring b, bidzerinbulong mos, peet yalleet yan ey, biityiring m, peet-yure das [widespread bu- 'hit', -tjarra = RECIP]
fighter	d[h]il[p]o-gunang	dil-o-kong-ong tu [see <i>hit</i> , <i>beat</i> , also §3.7.3]
fine weather	kurrkart	corecart b [see <i>summer</i>]
finger	won-marna	mona m, wonmarna p, manna t2 [Dja wonin-marna ; see <i>hand</i>]
finger, fore	wirn-mirn-milurrk	wer nen mil ark tuw, wernwern-milurk da, win mirn mil urg gne tuck r, win mun mil ury gne tuck r [Woi wunmunmil]
finger, fourth	babab-i-marna	bappa-by-manna t2, bab-ban-nuke da, papam gne tuck r ³⁸
finger, second	korroworrok	kor o wor ok tuw
finger, third	bokarra wordat	bok kar a word dut tuw [see <i>middle</i>]
fire	wiyn	wiyn rhm, wiin c, wing ey, tu, g, wiing m, weng tuw, weeng t2, weing tuw, r, weang eyw, wieng da, waing b, weeing p [Dja and various NSW wii , Warr, CV wiyn ; Warlpiri wini 'burnt ground']
firewood	narrebert	nar-e-bert tuw [Dja mayabert 'bark']
firing a gun		petobolong b, bolinniniait b
first	nganbu	gnan-bo tu, tus, also 'before', i.e. 'earlier' in tus [Woi ganbu]
fish	wirra-piyn	wirra-pin yawar t2, woorabbee g, worapin m, wirra-binya ds, [Tjap wirrap ; see <i>blackfish</i>] [doo-et t3]
fish	ta(r)lum	tarlum b [see <i>duck</i> , <i>black</i>]

³⁸ Probably means 'child of hand'; compare entry for *calf*.

fish	kuwiyn	koein c [widespread kuya]
fish, saltwater	torriang	to-re-ung tu [see <i>crayfish</i>]
fist	denanyin	denarnyin t2 [see <i>hit</i> , with <i>hand</i>]
five	bulatj-ba-bulatj-ba- kuimatj	boletch ba boletch ba koimotch [= 2+2+1]
flame		tail wang r, tail warg r [see <i>wood</i> , <i>start fire</i>]
flesh	bulgena	boolgenna t2 [t3] ³⁹
flesh, animal	beng	banuk tu [Tjap bang ; see <i>body</i> , see grammar §3.2]
flower	karrap-karrap	kar-up-kar-up tuw [Possibly <i>Arthuropodium minus</i> , a small native lily NS]
flower	gurr	goora pw [See <i>tree</i> , Thag gurrk, gurr(u), Tjap gurr ‘Eucalyptus flower’]
fly	djudjut	toe-tuet da, do dote r, dyodyot m, chogot c, dooit-yoot ‘housefly’ t2 [Dja tu(rr)tutj]
fly		gurak-dyay t2 [CV karrakarrak]
fly, blowfly	garmburr	gahrm-burr t2 [CV garr(a)mbarra]
fly, march	murrun	mo-ron tu, murron rhm [Tjap, Dja murrun]
fold, to	murrima-buma	murree-ma-boomak t2 [mooree-muk t3]
follow, to	kapa	kah-puk t2 [t1] [wahnt-yahk t3]
food	katkat	kutkut m [see <i>fat</i>]
foot	djinang	tyinnang rhm, jinnung g, dyinnang t2, dyinong m, tinnan tu, tinnanook ey, dinang d, mos, tinnang gne tuck r, chinnongatuk c, genong-etuk tuw, genong-gnet-ok eyw, jenir p [djina widespread]
foot, back of	wart-i djinang	wor de gen ong etuk tuw [Colac wart-nyi-kinong; see notes on <i>eyelid</i>]
forehead	mayn(t)	mayn t2, main gne tuck r, maan da, men rhm, miin m, ment-gnet-ok eyw, me-ent-etuk tuw, meant no tus, ment no tus
forget, to	gunalomba-	gunul lom ba don tuw
fork of tree	ngaambul	ngarmbul ri [see <i>knot in wood</i> , <i>koala</i>]

³⁹ **Bulgena** is used for introduced stock animals.

four	bulayt-(ba)-bulayt	boolite-ba-boolite da, bulleit bulleit g, bulad barp bulad tu, bullait-bullait ey
four	bulatj(i)-(ba)- bulatj(i)	polagi polagi c, boolety-bah-boolety t2, boletch ba boletch m; wood de yaal yaal r [= <i>plenty/many</i>]
frog	djirrm	dyierm rhm, dea-arm t2 [geer-mah t3]
frog, bull	wurrak-kurr	woorak-kurr t2
frog	tum	tom r [doom-boogn 'bull frog' t3] [Dja dum 'large brown frog']
frost	da(r)n	dan r, tu [Dja tacn , Ma dehna ; see <i>ice</i>]
full	yirtno	yirt'no m
gallop, to		weabul ok kot nen tuw
gaol	mamba	mumbah t2 [gah-poop t3] [see <i>gather</i>]
garden (of Eden)	wo(r)det	wordet tus, woddet tus
gather, to	gayupanyun-gupma	gayoop-un-nyoon-gopmakah t2 [gahpoop-wun- dyak-kah t3] [= <i>there do/put</i>]
geranium	mirrak	mir-ark tu [<i>Geranium</i> spp. or <i>Pelargonium rodneyanum</i> NS]
get up	d[h]arradja	deragaic b [see <i>stand, rise, waken</i>]
giddy	mata-	muta-a da, mutta a r, ma da a won [Warlpiri mata 'tired']
giddy		wayn-wim-boh-itnin-nyan-murgo t2 [woorwin- gawang-ngyik t3]
girdle	marrim	murrim ri, murum rhm
girl	nganya-gurrk, nganyaki bagurrk	ngunyagurk rhm, nyang-yak-gay-ba-koork t2 [waiaby-bad-goork t3] [all = small female]
girl	murdimundik	madamundik m, murdy moon dic r, murdy moon dio r [Woi murnmurndik]
give, to	wa-	wah-ahk t2 [wang-ak t3, wahn-dyaka], wah-ak 'trade' t2 [wohng-ak 'trade' t3], wa-ak rhm, wa'ak m, wah-ah-(gum)ginn t2, wowak ey, wo-o-ang 'liberal' tuw [wa- widespread]
give, to	yungga-	yunggagad 'gave' tug [widespread yung , e.g. WD; cf. <i>throw away</i>]
glad heart	lola butj	lol a boi juk tuw [see <i>liver</i>]

go away	yani-yu	yanni-yu das, yanni-wat 'you go away' das, yanny-yoo-dyooeee 'be off' t2 [do-e 'walk' t3] [see <i>go</i>]; yan-gan-note l [Colac?]
go away		gangad ga wat r
go work	korra-	korakat r, ko-rak-at das
go, to		gigo g, gigo mago 'go away'g
go, to	yana	yanno m, yanna c, gnal a cak yanni 'Don't go away' r; na-arremaluke l [Colac?] [yannay-murram-binnah t3 = 'you go'] [yan- widespread]
go, to	dhuwi	doo-e t2 [Tjap djuwi; see <i>go away</i>]
go, to	wada	wada tus, wade tus [see <i>come</i>]
goanna	yurrok	eurok
goanna, tree	djulin	dyulin rhm, tyulin m [WW tjuling , Tjap, Thag djuliyn]
god	bi-djarrang-nyatak	bee-dyarrang-ngyatak t2 [mam-mun-ngyatak t3]
god	didabil murrup-nhuk	Detable Moroponuk 'Great Spirit' tus [= big spirit-his] ⁴⁰
god	didabil murrum-nhuk	Detable Mur-um-nuk 'Great Spirit' tus [= big spirit-his]
good	manamiyt, manamith	mannamit t2 [t3], munni-meet da, mona mert r, mannamity t2 'pretty' [mannameety 'pretty' t3, mannamity 'soft' t3] [Woi]
good	wayn.gurr	wen-gyur m, wang-go-re 'hallowed (be Thy name)' tus [see <i>right</i>]
good	kunyaba	koenebanyook ey, tu, kunubenuek tuw, koonibenyook c, guinyebin rhm, koinyebaneuk mos, kon-ya-benyeuk da
good, very	merridjig	merri gig g, merejig l, merri g, merra-da-by-io da, merrijig 'well done' mo [used in Pidgin]
[goodbye]	kun.gadji	koon-ga-ge tuw
goose, black and white	ngangok	gnung-ok tuw
goose, grey	karral	kar ol tuw, gheral r [Tjap karral] [also given as <i>owl</i>]

⁴⁰ The *-nuk* in this and the next entry is strange. Tuckfield translates **murrum-n[h]uk** correctly as 'his spirit' elsewhere.

grass	parra(rr)	purra b, barrur g, barar tu, bur rur r, baran m, barr-par t2, paraark c ⁴¹
grass	worronkai(t)	worungait b, woron-ki tuw [see <i>green</i>] [<i>Themeda triandra</i> ‘Kangaroo grass’ NS]
grass, long	kola	kol-ler tu
grass, spear	ngarri	knare r [<i>Stipa</i> spp. NS]
grasshopper	marrak	mura eek r, marak rhm, morik tuw [Woi marrak]
grave	morrongmorrok	mor-ong-mor-ok tuw
grave	bant-ban	bunt-bun t2 [t3]
greasy	nirrirr-mirring	nirrir-miring t2 [nerrerr-muty t3]
green	gurr-gurr-warrabil	goor-goor-warrabil t2, [goor-goor-manity t1], [see <i>black, blue</i>]
green	wurr-(w)arri(y)n	wor-ar-en tuw [Woi wurrwarrin] [see <i>grass, black, blue</i>]; garing g [doom-bak t3]
grin, to	nenema	naynay-mak t [nay-mak t3] [full gloss is ‘to grin or grind the teeth’]
ground	yorruwok-djaa	yoruockjaa p [WV djaa]
ground	derrk	dairk b, dr dairk tu
ground	dha, dja	da tuw, tu, ta eyk, r, dar tu, ey, du eyw, dya rhm, jaar c, cha p, dya m, tyakak m [WV tjaa]
ground	tabayl	tabalyeek r [= my country?]
grow, to	karringa	karingga m [WW karinga]
growl, to	tjurn-	dyoornin t2 [doombarboom t3] [= t[h]urn- ‘angry’?]
grub	wuikam	woo-ee-kam t2 [gahring t3]
gum	wirrbeng	weerbeng da [wai-kool t3]
gum, blue	garra(ng)	gherang r, gurra t2, gheran ‘gum tree’ da [Possibly gerrang/kirrang ‘leaf’; if genuine, probably <i>Eucalyptus leucoxylon</i> NS]
gum, red	biyal	bee-ahl t2 [t3], piel ‘tree’ da, biel ‘tree’ r [also WV, CV; YY biyala] [<i>Eucalyptus camaldulensis</i>]
gum, white	[y]irrawil	ee-ra-will t2 [girra-gill t3]

⁴¹ Note *yay-lin* t3, and *bohiet* ey, which is the WV word.

gum, white	bawayn	bawain ‘white gum tree’ b [Eucalyptus species]
gun	burrng-burrng	brung-brung tu [darn-boola t3]
gun	burrn-burrn-nyayawarra	boorm-boorn-nyayawarra t [boorm-boorm-min t3]
gunpowder	guni(nyuk)	goon-ein-yook t2 [Tjap gunayuk ; possibly = its excrement] [goon-a-wurring t3]
hailstone	dewarr-dewarr	daywurra-daywurr t [t3]
hailstone, small	kanderrang	kan de rang tuw [Warlpiri etc. kanti ‘white stone’]
hair	ngarr-murrk	ngarmoork da, gnar-moork t2, gnar morg gne tuck r, iremourk mos, ngarmurk m, nuir-moork p, gnar-mor-etuk tuw, ngarmooretuk c [mor-din-gnyan t3] [WV ngarra]
halter	nyurn-nyurn	nyoornyoonook t2 [t3] [see <i>string, tie, hang a man</i>]
hand	marna	murna rhm, tuw, da, murnah t2, mona m, marna p, mirnuk c, munangin tu, ey, murnock g, murna-etuk tuw, morna gne tuck r [layto t3] [WV manya/marna , CV marnang]
hand, left	warrm	warm gne tuck r [WW wara , Tjap, Dja warram , Woi wirram]
hand, palm of	dung-i marna	dong-i-murna da, tong i marna gne tuck r [= stomach of hand]
hand, right	yulb	yolb gne tuck r [Tjap, Dja yulp]
hang a man	nyurnanyim-denangku	ngnoorna-ngnyim-denang-koo[?] t2 [see <i>halter</i>] [birpang-ngnyahn-goornda t3]
hard	balit	ballit t2, bar-lit tu [Dja, Woi balert; see <i>strong</i>] [dilp-dilp t3]
hawk	ngarramga	ngarram-gar t2 [t3] [see <i>eagle</i>]
hawk	bi(u)yong	beyong tu [Dja biye(rr)ng ‘large ground hawk’; see <i>eagle</i>]
hawk, brown	tjarra	tyarrar rhm, tar-ar ‘eagle’ tuw ⁴²
hawk, mountain		gaire rhm [= preceding?]
hay	gut-gut	gootgooduk t2 [t3]

⁴² **Tharra** is given as ‘white hawk’ and ‘swamp hawk’ in Woiwurrung. Note also **tjarrak** ‘kestrel’ in Tjapwurrong.

head	murrk	murk rhm, morg da, moork t2, c, m, p, murrineuk mos, moornyook ey, tu, mor-rok-gnet-ok eyw, mor-rok-etuk tuw, morrok tuw, morrok tuw, morung g, moro gne tuck r [gawang t3] [Colac murrk ; scattered muka in WA, NT (e.g. Warumungu), Warlpiri mukarti 'hat']
head, crown	dalang murr[k]	tal ang mor etuk 'crown' tuw [see <i>head</i> , skin, <i>rug</i>]
headache	ma(r)t-berringnyin-murrka	mart-bairingnyin-moorka t2 [gnahnying-goording-gawang t3]
headband	bu(rr)kirn	bukirn da, bur kearn r
headdress, front of	karrakan	kar a ken 'peak, or front of any head dress' tuw
hear, to	ngarrwa, nyarrwa	ngarwak rhm, gnyahr-wak t2, gnarwa tu, gnarwah ey, gnarwierug r, gnar urering r, ngarwilin m [WV nyerna , CV ngarn.ga , YY ngarr ; see also <i>answer</i>] [gnarl-gohn-nyahn t3] [wahart-car-nuke 1 Colac?]
heart	yonak	yonnuck gne tuck r
heart	d(h)urrm, dhurrung	doorm t2 [t3], dhurung rhm [Dja, CV dhurrung], bo-i jo 'heart (as seat of emotions)' tus [see <i>liver</i> , <i>stomach</i>]
heavy	barn-barn	bahrn-bahrn t2, barn-barn tu, barno tus, banbon m [wee-wee t3] [Thag barndabuyn , Woi barnbuyn]
heel	kanak	kon a etuk tuw, kunnak rhm [We, Ma ganag]
heel	barn	burn t2 [t3], barn da, barn gne tuck r [see <i>ankle</i>][Woi]
here	maga	maga tuw [CV magalu]
here		yea b
here	kim-ba(r)ne	kim barne tu, ey
here	muyn (gangi)	muyn ri, moin-ga-gne tus, munya rhm, munyi rhm
here about	momba(mba)	mom-ba tuw, mun rhm, mombam-ba tuw [cf. <i>up there</i>]
hide, to	yulap-gurring	yoollap-gooring t2 [yoollap-buddar t3]
hide, to	nyita	nyittak t2 [t3], nillay t2 [nittak t3], net-ta tus [Kal (Q) nhita - 'to steal']

hideous	wulern	woollern t2
high	warritj	wareety t2 [deeyoo t3] [cf. <i>long way</i>]
hill	banyul	panyal m, banule 'mountain' da, berngull tu, b, bagnol r, banyall 'valley' [error?]g [CV, some WV]
hill, down	nerriniyi	ner-e-ne-e tuw [see <i>hill, top of</i>]
hill, foot of	mo(r)nindiyu, wo(r)nina-nyuk	mor-nin-di-u tuw, wor-nin-na nuke tuw
hill, top of	murrk banyul	mor-ok-pun yul [= head (of) hill] tuw
hill, top of	narriyu	nar-e-u tuw [see <i>hill, down</i>]
hit, to	darranggiyt	darungeit [see following entries]
hit, to	djilpa-	dilbahk t2 [t3], dyilpo m [WV, CV] [see <i>fight</i>]
hit, to	pitala	pedala tus
hit with foot	del-darranggiyt	delderungeit g
hit with hand	dan-darranggiyt	dandarungeit g [see <i>fist</i>]
hit with stick	bel-darranggiyt	beldarungeit g [see <i>beat</i>]
hold, to	deteth-gupma	detteth-goop-mak t2 [dayteth-goongak t3]
hole	mirr	mir t2, m [= eye] [wohn-dum t3]
hook		bah-goorduak t2 [t3]
hoop	mamu	mahmoo t2 [t3]
hop, to	kuwimatj-ga	goee-muty-gar t2 [goongar-goeemooyy-garry t3] [kuwimatj = 'one']
hot	t[h]urn	tuurn tuw [see <i>angry</i>]
hot	warrwatnyo, konggat	warwutnyo m, kongat c [weeri-muklin I probably Colac word]
house/hut	karrung	karung b, tuw, karrong tu, korrongiu tuw, ey, gar-rong t2, karong m, karong r, kurrung g, kadjong das [see 'bark', 'camp']; mimi g [WA word spread via English] [burrah t3]
how	nyurran	nyuran m [CV nhurra]
how do you do	nyurra wurriyn	ngyorahr-wooring t2 [mannamit-goording-gnahn t3]
how many	nan.gut	nan gort tus

hungry	mairra-?, mirra-?	miraiauwirno m, miraeek r, myr-e-yik ds
hungry	dolbele	dol-bel-e-nun tu
hunt	nyanayit-yanunit	ngyannayit-yannoo-nit t2 [yannoo-gnyahn t3] [see <i>go</i>]
husband	warringgurr tanu	war ringoor tan-nooh ey
husband	nganabun, lanabun	nanabun m, lanna-boorn t2, gnuun a burt na gnen tuw [Warr nganap ; see <i>wife</i>], golli [= man] da [goolin-marrambai-ick 'your man' t3]
hyacinth (?)	murdurt	murderd-goork woman's name = 'hyacinth girl' da [gurrk = female] [= CV <i>mudrurt Chamaescilla</i> <i>corymbosa</i> . 'Hyacinth' suggests wider use including <i>Caesia calliantha</i> NS]
ibis	bit-bit-djerrak	bitbitdyerrak rhm, bit-bit-dyeruk ri, bit-bit-der uk tuw 'black and white bird' [Dja payt-payt- tjarruk , Thag, YY baibadjerruk]
ice	da(r)n	dahn t2 [t3] [see <i>frost</i>]
idle	d[h]unawan	doonaahwun t2 [doninyun t3] [probably = djunawan 'tired', 'weary']
ignorant	banggel	bung gel tus, bungelally 'foolish' g, bungilinnia 'I don't understand' b, bung-gel boy yut gnen 'I am ignorant' tus, bung-al-la-lee l [see <i>understand</i> , <i>deaf</i>]
immediately		tara-wa-luke l [Colac; see <i>by-and-by</i>]
in front of	kallinyayn-	kallinyunyik '-me' rhm, kallinyunyun '-you' rh, kallinyunyuk '-him' rhm [see grammar]
industrious	karrangatiyn	karangateen da, karang aleen r
intestine	burdit-burdit	boorditt-boorditt t2 [billing-gnyim t3]
intoxicated	ngopan-kurrayn ⁴³	ngny opan-goraing t2 [ngnohp-butta-duni bullim t3] [= 'drink rum']
ironbark tree	yirrip	yee-rop t2 [yee-rip t3] [CV] [<i>Eucalyptus</i> <i>tricarpa</i> (this name replaces <i>E. sideroxylon</i> in W. Vic) NS]
irritate, to	bularri	boolahry t2 [t3]
itchy	liliderri	lee-lee-dery-nyun t2 [t3]
jaw	waang	wahng t2 [t3] [see <i>cheek</i>]

⁴³ Thomas appears to have heard an initial palatal nasal, but other tokens of the root for 'drink' have **ng**.

jealous	na-ak guli	nah-ak-gooley t2 [nakak-guli t1] [nyahng-ak-goohn t3] [see 'man']
jingle, to	drilngodarlatan?	drill-ngo-dahr-lat-dan t2 [drill-bo-mallam t3] [see <i>chain</i>]
join, to	gerrupa-tjarra-	gayrupa-dyerring t2 [gayrupah-dyerring t3] [tjarri = RECIP]
joint	nyayl	nyayl-nyin t2, nyay-linna t3 [= <i>bone</i>]
journey	yanikan-werritj	yanikan-werrity t2 [cf. 'walk'] [bohr-yannadun t3]
joyful	yerra-	yera-o da, yeraa r
joyful, or I am	bo(r)nda-	bohrn-dowaha t2 [bohrn-dun-yahn t3]
juice	ngupith	ngohpitook t2 [bahndohk t3] [see <i>drink</i>]
jump	bilpurriyn	bill-poor-ing t2 [t3], bilkbooreen da [see <i>boil</i>]
kangaroo	goim, guyim?	goim ey, tu, rhm [gohim t3], t2, ko-im da, tuw, eyw, koim tuw, m c, coim b, goin g, koime r, kaima p [Woi goim, YY gayimarr]; [corra l Colac]
kangaroo, female	goim ngurdang	goim ngurdang rhm
kangaroo, male	goim guliwan	goim guliwan rhm, goim gulawan rhm
kangaroo, small		ko-en tuw, ko-e-lern tuw
kangaroo rat	barruk, barrutj	bar ok tuw, barok tu, barook r, barook da, bar-ruty t2 [t3] [Tjap parruk, parrutj, Dja, Warr, CV parruk]
keep, to	gupmala	goopma-lahn t2 [gupma 'do' + la] [goong-an-yan t3]
kick	garra	gurrak t2 [gurr-ngak t3] [Dja, Woi] [see <i>tread, wade</i>]
kidney fat	marra-marra	murra murra t2 [t3] [CV, Tjap, Dja marrp 'kidney']
kill, to	bita	beetak t2, pedakat tus, pe-dan-o-gnet 'kill them' tus, peet-car-nook l [Colac?] [wai-yak t3]
kill, to	bana	bannargak pw [see <i>stab, prick</i>]
kill, to	dit-gun-djirri-	ditgundyrin m [Tjap dit-guna; djirri = RECIP]
kiss	dotitat	dotee-tat-nyum t2, [dotee-an-murran-budda t3]
knead, to	ma(rr)nga	mahr-knak [t1], t2 [t3]

knee	bun	bon da, mos, tu, bun rhm, boon t2 [t3], boan gne tuck r, pon etuk tuw [possible cognates in some Queensland languages, e.g. Pitta-Pitta purnku]
kneel	bun-barra	boon-barray t2 [boon-bartay t3] [see grammar]
knife	kalpurn-kalpurn-yurra	kol-burn-kol-burn-ure tu, calbacaunbynura b [NWV, CV kalpun-kalpun]
knife	kalburn-kalpurn-yawa	galboon-galboon-yow-war t2 [lohr-gahty t3]; lugid-eded l [Colac?]
knife, stone	gurrin	gurin m
knot, in a rope	nunarring	noon-aring t2 [noon-dya-dun t3]
knot, in wood	ngaarran-bul	ngahran-boo-look t2 [see <i>fork</i>] [goor-ook t3]
know, I don't	wiya	wiiya [see grammar]
know, to	ngarrwa-	nalling [= 'no'?]g, gnar-ar tus, gnarnka tus [see <i>hear</i>]
know, to		burdu'auan m
koala	karrborr	karbor t [Woi gurrborra/garrborra]
koala	ngaambulmum	ngarmbulum rhm, ngarmbulamoom m, ngarmbalmum ri, ngarmbul... ri, [= tree-fork bottom] [ngyallam-bunyin 'sloth' t3] [Woi]
kookaburra	kuwarrk	goo-ark t2 [t3], kowaruk c, kuark m [similar forms in some WV and in Gippsland]
labour		gall-bull-ing-goyut-ning t2 [t3]
lake	buluk	boolook t2 [t3], boolok da, bulloc r [CV]
lamb	nganagi bulgina	ngunigee-boolgenna [small cattle?] ⁴⁴ [waiaby-boolgenna t3]
lame	ngarrpu-ngarrpu	ngarpa-an-ngarpa t2, gnurbo gnurbo r [ngnyar-poon-yahn t3] [Tjap, Dja ngarrpa , Woi ngarrpun]
laugh	we(rr)ka	wayr-ka t2 [t3], wakungeit g, wa-ka da, wekkih rhm, wayr kundya-ahk t2 [t3], weakay r [WW weka , Dja we(rr)ka]
lazy	tatayawan	tatayawan da, ta ta ga wan r
leaf	murran	mooran pw [Woi murrin]; panigerong l [Colac?]

⁴⁴ See footnote 20.

leaf	djerrang, gerrang	gay-rang t2 [t3] [see also <i>cherry tree, tea, vegetable</i> , WW <i>kira</i> , Dja <i>djerra</i> , Woi <i>djerrang</i>]
lean	metjuk	may teuk r, may tuke r [probably = 'its skin', see <i>skin, leather</i>]
leather	mitj	mityook t2 [t3] [= its skin]
leech	bilitj	billity rhm [WW, Dja, also <i>worm</i>]
leg (shin?)	karr	kar g, kar-etuk tuw, kar-gnet-ok eyw, kar m, gnel e kar etuk 'shin' tuw, kar 'shin' rhm, kahr t2 [t3] [CV <i>karrang</i> 'shin']
leg	lorrk	loortam nook ey, lorg da, lory gne tuck r, lor-etuk 'calf' tuw, lurk rhm
liberal		yelebert tuw
lie down, to	gumpala-	goom-pa-lay-en t2 [see <i>sleep</i>] [ngyallam-bee-yan t3] [calara-nuke l Colac]
lie, to tell a	moyu-mili moyu gunang 'liar'	moyu 'a lie' tus, moeyu milinyat 'you are joking' ds, moy um gun ong 'liar' tuw, ngnyallak-meio-milly [= not deceive] t2, [see <i>mistrust</i>], [gneiahp-bo-mei-yoortbe t3]
lift, to	waima	wai-mak t2 [wai-wak t3], waimok m [cf. 'carry']
light	yirram(b)	yeramb c [see <i>morning</i>]
light	mirriyu	mirriyo m [see <i>sun</i>]
light, not heavy	wulung	wulrung m [Dja <i>wulung</i> ; see <i>nimble</i>]
lightwood tree	muyang	moo-yeng t2 [moo-yung t3] [Woi 'blackwood'] [<i>Acacia melanoxylon</i> or <i>Acacia implexa</i> NS] ⁴⁵
lightning	murrinyuk	moorinyook-mundarra t2 [t3] [both = lightning thunder], morrein nyuck g, morineul da, mori nuck r, mori nuk r, morinyuk m
like, to		koing bannuck g, botyimoan m
lime	bun	boon t2 [t3]
lip	wurru(ng)	wor-ung-gnet-ok eyw, wor-ung tuw, woorna t2, wuru m, ri, wurru rhm [woorra t3], wooroo mos, wurrow-nyook 'bird's beak' t2 [= <i>mouth</i> ; WV, Warr, CV, YY]
liver	butj	boo-ityook t2 [t3], boity rhm [CV] ⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Current usage differentiates *A. implexa* and *A. melanoxylon*, but colonial usage covered both. NS.

lizard	gaan	gahn t3, t2 [We, WW ken 'frill-necked lizard', Dja kan 'jew lizard']
lizard	lelon	le-lon tu
lizard, sleepy	walop	wol-op tu, wallop rhm [Tjap walap 'goanna']
locust	ngalanggalang	ngullanggullang rhm
locust	nherra-nherring?	nyra nyrim r [nyerring t3, see <i>manna</i>]
long	nyirrim	nerim tu, tuw, nerrim ey, nyirrim rhm, nyirirm m [also <i>straight</i>], [mywun 'long distance' l Colac?]
long time	maiwan	mywan ds, myone tus ⁴⁷
long time	tjuwarrngi-yo-mirr	tuwurnee-yo-meer pw [Tjap tjuwa(rr)ng 'long'] [cf. mirri 'sun']
long way	warriyt	warreet r [Colac <i>wareetanong</i> ; see <i>high</i>]
louse	munya	moonyo t2 [moonyung t3], munya rhm [widespread Vic]
love	mu-tjarri	moot-yerring t2 [gohng-dyerring t3] [Tjap mutjarra ; - tjarra RECIP]
love	ngerren-bupma	gner-en-bop-mo tu, tus [see <i>arouse</i>]
love	kanamo	kan-a-mo tus
loved		kawoe da
lump	d(h)urrung	turung m [Tjap; cf. <i>heart</i> , <i>nut</i>]
lyrebird	buln-buln	boolun-boolun 'peacock' t2 [t3] [Tjap, CV]
mad	manbarring	munbarring t2 [nguning-goorden t3]
mad	tanuba	tanooba da
mad	yulayt-yurran, yelayt-yerriyn	ulite u ran r, ye-lite-yereen 'foolish' da
maggot	kurramba	curamber r
magpie	parrwang	barwang t2 [t3], r, pardwang rhm, par-a-wong tuw, parawarag ri [CV similar]
make, to	mung(g)a	mognet tuw, tol-lom-gre-ma-gnet tuw, mongak tu, pw [Dja, Woi mungga]

⁴⁶ **Butj** is 'stomach' in Djadjawurrung and Central Victoria, but 'liver' in Tjapwurrung. The form may be **buitj**, but we are taking the 'i' to represent the glide of the tongue to the palatal position.

⁴⁷ Lloyd gives **maiwan** as 'far' in Colac.

make, to	wanga(la)	wangu m, wa-gna-la tus, wa-gna-ba tus, wa-gnul-a-bil 'working man' tuw [see grammar]
male	guliwan	guliwan rhm, gulawan rhm [cf. guli 'man']
man		warwar mos [see 'man, old']
man	guli	gooly t2 [t3], goo-ly t2, gole ey, tu, guli rhm, gollek r, kuly tuw, golle r, kooli c, koli m [gohlin t3] [some WV kuli , CV kuliyn], bangondedook pw [= 'his'], boorogn c ⁴⁸
man, formerly tribesman		murrangurk t
man, old	ta(r)ne guli	tarne-kuly tuw [see <i>old</i> , <i>frost</i> ; <i>man</i>]
man, old		nedok c
man, old	[ng]arra-wil	arrawil, arawille 'man' b, gnar-i-wel 'adult' tuw [WV ngarrampin]
man, vain		gooing-er-goly-wan t2 [goon-gar-garoon-dyen t3]
man, white	yuwang	yoo ang r, yow ong r
man, white	ngamitjiyt	ng-amakity t2 [t3], amadeat mo, amygeet ey, amajaic b, amerjig tuw, amygeet tu, ngammaigi c [similar in CV and some WV]
man, white		dantgant mo
man, young		tringit te koolay [t1], t2
man, young	kulkun	goolgun c [see <i>boy</i> , WV kulkurn]
man, young	kul-kul-guli, kurt-kurt-guli	kolkolkolee g, kol kol golle r, kurtgurtgully mos
manna (berries)	binap ⁴⁹	binnap t2 [gonang-ngye-ngyerring t3 = faeces of locust]
many	getjawil	getyaul 'several' rhm
marks, on shield		piyar tuw
married, are you	mutjilanyarra	moot-yillan-yarra t2 [Tjap tanyat mutjalang 'new married couple'; cf. <i>love</i>] [wundirrip-bahrn-gal t3]
marry, to		kurtak m

⁴⁸ Similar to the word for 'night' in WV, Warrnambool and CV. Possibly a mistake.

⁴⁹ Not a berry, but the exudate of sap-sucking insects. NS

matter, expectorated	kolkel	kok kel ik tu
meet, fall in with	kada	kud der tuw, kud-dering tus [WD -kati 'down']
meet, to	wayaperri	wayup-erry t2 [gayp-bo-dyerring t3]
melt, to	tokol-wa-	to-kol-wot tuw [see <i>sofi</i>]
messenger	biya(a)(rr)	bihar mo [Tjap piyaarr]
midday	barri-mirriyu	bar-i-mer-e tu, dere kol mom tu [narlanga-tarawart l Colac?] [see <i>sun</i>]
middle	bakarra, bakarriyu	buk-ar-e-u tu, bokariu tu, buk-kar-a [also <i>within</i>]
midnight	barri-morrgal	bary-morgal da, barre morgal r [see <i>night</i>]
milk	bap	bahp t2 [t3], bap r, pab m
milk	bal meling	bal mel ing tu
miner bird	birndayt	birn-dait t2 [birn-deet t3] [Tjap birndiyn]
mint	narrit	nar-it tu [<i>Mentha</i> spp. NS]
mist	porrang	porang m [CV, Dja; cf. WV, CV purruyn 'night']
mistrust	muyung-bunang	moyoong-boonang t2 [moyart-bin t3] [see <i>liar</i>]
mix, to	norrwa	nohr-wak [t1], t2 [walla-kak t3]
moan		matbahrinyun t2 [nganyin-goordinyun t3]
moisten, to	djawama	dyow-wer-muk t2 [dyow-wern-bak t3]
month	darra(p)-barri	durrup-barry t2 [t3]
moon	yirn	yern eyw, tuw, da, rhm, yearn r, yaen g, yaan p, yen m, ee-yen t2, gearn g, yert c, kalkorn yern 'new moon' das [= young-man moon?], boroda yern 'full moon' das [Tjap, Dja yirn] minyan pw [minnay-yahn t3] [CV mirnian , YY yurra]
mopoke	waanawal, wongongal	waanwanal p, wong-ong-ul tuw
more	yurri	yure da, wah-ah-gin-yooree t2 [= give more?] [yooring-ahn-wahk t3]
morning	yirram	yirom m, yeerahm t2 [CV]
morning	kardiniyu	kur din u r, kurdineu da, kardinea 'daylight' l [ngyewenn t3]
mosquito	nguya-nguya	ngoiya ngoiya m, gnoia gnoia r, ngoya-ngoya da, ngaioong c, nguyunguyu rhm

moth	mumu mirri	momo merie r
mother	ngardang	knardon knettuk tu, ey, ngatonyuk m, ngnyartano t2, yuttong p, ngardung c, nurdung r, gnurdong tuw, ngurdang rhm, ngurdung da, [bah- bahu t3] [Warlpiri ngati]
mother-in-law	nyalang-gurrk	nyallungurk rhm [Tjap, Dja]
mountain	wurdi yawang	wurdy yowang r [= big-bald?]
mountain	burrabil	boorabill t2 [t3]
mountain, large	kawa	cawa p [Tjap, CV kawang 'head']
mountain, small	burra-burra	purapura p
mourn, to	warrongawan	warro-ngah-wan-nook t2 [woorbodan-boet-du t3] [see <i>sorry</i>]
mouse	danayn	dar-naign t2 [t3]
mouse	ko(r)nam	korn-um tuw
mouth		bornak tu, bormak mos
mouth	wurru	wor-ro da, wooro c, wuru m, woorutanyook ey, woro gne tuck r, wora p, wooraw t2 [t3], mur a eek r 'mouthful', mir a eek r 'mouthful' [see <i>lip</i> ; also CV, YY]
mud	papul	pah-pul t2 [bek t3] [see <i>pipeclay</i>]
murmur	gebulala-	gai-bool-lah-lah-nook t2 [gooit-bool-lah-ahray t3]
muscle	bayt-bayt	bite bite r
mushroom	bigu(r)n	bay goon r [Tjap bigurn]
mushroom		naarenauck b
mussel	ba(r)nawarrabil	barnawarrabil b [see <i>oyster</i>]
mussel	murrabul	moorabool l [Colac?]
mussel	dirr	dir rhm [cf. dirr 'hunting spear']
mutter, to	gunigerringga-dirdabil- bil	goony-gayring-ga-durdahbill-bil t2 [goon-nyik- dyayloo-doombat t3] [see <i>big</i>]
mutton	bulgeno	bool-genno t2 [t3] ⁵⁰

⁵⁰ This word refers to a number of introduced stock animals.

mutton fish	kuderru	kooderoo mo
nail (finger)	d[h]irr(i)p	terip gne tuck r, dirip m, der e be mur na etuk tuw, dirb murnock g dirry-pa-munna t2 [t3] [last 3 entries = nail hand]
nail, toe		tiring-matuk da
nail or peg	yalla	yal-a tuw, yalla t2 [t3]
naked	murnatjaa	murnadya-ah t2, mur-ne-jur-ren-nan 'I am naked' tus [murnity t3] [Tjap murnat[h]ayang]
name	n[h]arri	nar-e-bar 'sacred name' tuw, nar-e-gnen 'thy name' tus [WB nyarri , Tjap ng/nyarri Margany/Gunya (Q) nhari , Bidyara (Q) nhayi]
nankeen kestrel	kalwerrk	kol-wark tuw, calwerk b
nasty	guwiyn-nyulim	gooingy-nyoollim t2 [= fish bad?] [goorge- nyoollem t3]
navel	warrung	warung rhm [Tjap, Dja warru , We warrau]
navel	tolo(rr)	tol or gnet uk tuw [Colac (Tuckfield) tol]
neck [nape]	nyaning	nyanning t2 [t3], naning da, naminy gne tuck r, nan-e-gnet-uk 'neck, back of' tuw [WV nyani]
neck/throat	kurn	gouronok mos, korn etuk tuw, goorn t2, t3, korn da, goorn t2 [t3], korn gne tuck r [WV, CV kurn]
neck: sore throat	warrawan-kurnu	warrawun-goorno t2 [= pain neck-LOC?] [ngun- yum-goort-dit-ngnyun t3]
needle, bone		kalif tuw
neglect	borrak-nyala-gupma	bohrrack-ngnyallack-gopma t2 [= not not do] [ngaiup-ba-dahr-goong-aty t3]
net bag		corare b, coran r [Dja ku-rare]
new	darrabarruk	darrabarrook t2 [t3]
nice	manamith-gotj-gotj	manna-mit-goty-goty t2 [manna-mit-goraigh t3] [see <i>good</i>]

night	murrkal	murkal m, morkalla p, moorgal c, morgal tuw, murgalyu rhm, morgal-leu da moor-kahl t2, moorkalyn ey, tu, morgala tuw, boorana l ⁵¹ [calada 'last night' l Colac?] [see <i>dark, evening</i>] [booroign t3]
nimble	guwendji-wulung	gwengy-woolung t2 [see <i>light, not heavy</i>] [goon-gy-woolurn t3]
nip	d[h]ilaba	dillerbuk t2 [t3] [Tjap djilaba]
nipple	bam	bam gnetuk tu, bam-etuk tuw
nit	lirt	lirt rhm [similar in Woi]
no	ngan-ngan	gnan-gnan tu
no, not	borrak	bohrrack t2, borack ey, tu, borak 'not' tu, g, borac b, borok tuw, boraka m, bor ak r, borac l, boorahk 'to refute' t2 [t3], burra-kah-ah 'vacant' t2 ⁵²
no, not	nyala	nyullawinyar rhm, gnal-la-gat tu [= not-you], ngalla-gar 'oppose' t2 [ngaia-bunyar 'oppose' t3, gnaiah-winyahr t3, ngaiah-winyar 'vacant' t3] [see <i>what</i>]]
nod the head, to	daa	dah-ak t2 [t3] [Tjap dawa]
noise	bularri-wirring-nyelling	boolary-wirring-nyelling t2 [= irritate-ear-?] [boolara-ga-wirring-kauboo t3], kul bol ing kurn der ing 'hasty noise made by two' tuw
noon	barri-mirri	bury-meri da, barre miree r [see <i>midday, sun, midnight</i>]
noose, end of snaring rod	talan	tal-an tuw
nose	kang	gang mos, kang rhm da, t2 [t3], m, kanug-gnet-ok eyw, kang gne tuck r, kaanatuk c, kam tu, kam yook ey, kong g, kaung tuw [CV kaang , WV karr]
nose ornament	not-i kang	note-kang da, note cang r
nose, bridge of	ngala kang	gnul a kaung etuk tuw [see ngayil 'bone'] ⁵³
nose, dividing cartilage	bod-i kang	bo-de-kaung etuk tuw [cf. 'nostril']

⁵¹ **Burruyn** 'night' is found in WV, Warmambool and CV.

⁵² **Borrrack** was used in nineteenth-century Pidgin and to some extent in English.

⁵³ Tuckfield gives **ngal-a nyinuk kong** in Colac.

nostril	buwitj-i kang	bo-e-je kaung etuk tuw [= stomach of nose]
nurse	kolima	kol-e-muk tu, kol-e-mo-gnet tu, kol-e-muring tu
nut	d(h)urrung	doorung t2, dorung [t1] [t3], [see <i>heart</i> , <i>lump</i> , possibly plant gall or she-oak cone NS]
obey, to	gonarra-nyala-gupma	gonarra-ngniallak-gopmal t2 [= ?-not-do] [gnyaiap-banar-goong-agny t3]
object, to	ngangu-ngalagan-yani	nga-ngu-ngallagan-yanny t2 [boorahk-ngaiah-bat-dan-ya t3] [see <i>no</i>]
obstruct, to	guway-bularri-nyay-ay-ing-a	gway-boolahry-gnyay-ay-ing-ah t2 [boolahrun-ga-nyowung-im t3] [see <i>irritate</i> ; first element possibly English 'go away']
ochre, red	nyurru-nyurru	nyooro-nyooro t2, [t1] [t3]
often	mayawan	maiawun t2 [t3] [cf. <i>long time</i>]
oil	lelik	laylick t2 [t3] [= <i>sweet</i> , esp. t3]
old		polord r
old	wurring-wurring	woring-woring 'old kangaroo' da, wooring-wooring 'old man' ey, woroing waray 'old man' r, worong worong 'old female' r
old	ta(r)ndjon	tarn-jon tuw [see <i>man</i> , <i>old</i>]
old	di(r)dabil	durlahbill t2, didai-bill t2, didabil [possibly = <i>big</i> , but also dirda 'die' + bil; week-gabill t3 = wika 'to die' + bil; cf. <i>cash</i> , <i>white</i>]
old	tarrabarr	tar-a-bar ok tuw
old	budjelnga	bojelgna tug
one	kuinmoyt	koinmet c, koin moit r, koen moet ey
one	kuimoyl	koi moil tu, ko-i-moil eyw, kuimoyl ri
one	kuimatj	kuimat m, ku-i-muty rhm, goheemuty t2, koimott da, koimoit 'man' p, koemut g, goheemuty 'forefinger' t2
one-eyed	taning mirr	tun ning my r, tun ning myr r
only	be(rr)kik	berk-ik tu
open		wer-up-mer-ing tuw [= open eyes?]

open	bakupma	bog up muk tu, ba-kop-mak t2, ba-kup-may tus, bah-koop-mak 'open your mouth' t2 [t3] [ba-goong-ak t3]
open your eyes	nyaal ⁵⁴	nyah-ally t2 [nyang-uck t3] [possibly nya 'see' + -la CAUSATIVE]
opposite, there	djiwa	ge wa tu
orange	gondak	gonduk [t1], t2 [t3]
ornament of teeth		leang e drun mean tuw [see 'tooth']
outside	kali-werrango	kol-le-wer-ang-gno tu
oven	mine	minne 'ovens for baking <i>murnong</i> [yam daisy]' r
over there	moyu	moy-u tuw
over there	kindjangi	kin ja gne tu
overturn	gaarring	gah-ahring t2 [gangul t3]
owl	garra	garra-look t2 [t3] [also given as <i>goose</i> , <i>grey</i>]
owl	wirrma	wirmul da, weer mal r [WW, We wirimal 'powerful owl', Tjap wirrma , warromawil , Dja wirrma]
owl	morrobbil	mor-o-bil tuw
owl	kadok	cardoke b [also given as <i>cuckoo</i>]
oyster	ba(r)nabil	bannabill t2 [t3], barnabil b, banibil r [see <i>musel</i>]; barrabool l [Colac?]
paddock		ngallap-gun t [t3] [<i>ngallack-pun</i> t1]
pain	warrawan	warra-wun t2 [see <i>sore</i>] [warroong-nyoon-nerunn t3]
painful	bokorre	bok-ko-re tus
painting		til-en-e-wer-ark tuw
paper	darra-abil	darra-ahbill t2 [t3] [cf. darra-kalk 'branch']
parrakeet	yukip	yookeep t2, yo-kep 'parrot' tuw [yookop t3] [Tjap yukap 'crimson parrakeet', Dja yukip 'small parroket', Woi yukap 'king parrot']

⁵⁴ Thomas uses a macron to indicate non-syllabic reading of y. It is used here.

parrot		darny-birt t2
parrot	porrgil	pro-gel tuw, borgil r [Tjap purrkil 'lorikeet parrakeet', Dja purrukil 'crimson parrot', Woi porrgil 'Majella parrot']
parrot	lakoyt	la-koit tuw, [Woi 'mountain parrot']
parrot	worrep	wor-ep tuw [We wurib 'cockatiel parrot', Dja wurrip 'cockatoo parrot']
parrot	derna(rr)	dren-ar tuw [danden t3]
parrot, blue mountain	kalingarr	kullingar rhm, callingur b, kol-ing-ar 'parrot' tuw [Tjap]
parrot, white		kingio
partridge	burrunggi	boorooing-gay t2 [booroong-gay t3] [also given as <i>quail</i>]
peace	mok-b[o]rri	mok-brin t2 [cf. <i>quiet</i>] [de-me-e t3]
peel, to	birna	brit ne tu [see <i>scrape, shave</i>]
peeled, without peel	mayn-mayn	main-main tuw
pelican	bardangal	burdungul rhm, bur-de-gnul tu, bur-do-gnul tuw, b, birdungal c, bortangil m [WV patjangal , paRangal]
peppermint tree	daagan	dahgun t2 [dalk t3] [In colonial usage <i>Eucalyptus melliodora</i> 'Yellow Box' NS]
person in difficulty	midjolabil	me-jol-a-bil tuw
pick	bana	bannak t2 [bindak t3] [see <i>stab, prick</i>] ⁵⁵
pick it up	muga-	mogail kai b [Thag muga 'to pick it up']
pigeon	ngurre	gnura tuw, ngoore t2 [t2], gnorai r, ngure 'bronze-wing' rhm
pin out a skin, to		tar-pa-kot-me guk tuw
pipe	buno-nyit	boono-gnyit t2 [cf. buno 'tea tree'?] [boondo-nyan t3]
pipeclay	paapul	pah-pul t2 [see <i>mud</i>]
pipeclay	bik	bik [Tjap; Woi 'earth', 'country'; see <i>mud</i>]
pistol	nganyaki-burrng-mi-yawa	ngahnyak-gay-boorng-mee-yow-a t2 [waiaby-bor-mee-yow-wurr t3] [see <i>small, gun</i>]

⁵⁵ Presumably means 'pick' as in 'to pierce the surface with a sharp instrument' rather than 'to choose'.

pity	warrangawa-	warra-ngah-ah-wannook t2 [cf. warrawan 'pain', 'sore'] [wood-boonyan t3]
plain		war bulloc r [cf. buluk 'lake']
plait, to	marruna	marronak t2 [t3] [see twist]
plant ⁵⁶		mul-a-tar-i-wel tuw [cf. mula 'shadow', tariwel 'turkey'. Probably <i>Bulbina bulbosa</i> 'Bulbine lily' NS]
plant ⁵⁷	borrom-borrom	bo-rom-bo-rom tuw [Possibly <i>Bracteantha</i> or <i>Chrysocephalum</i> species, formerly under <i>Helichrysum</i> . All of the species have yellow 'everlasting' flowers NS]
plant ⁵⁸	bolkombopa	bol kom-bop-ba tuw Difficult to identify. [Possibly <i>Lepidum aschersonii</i> NS]
plant ⁵⁹	ngarramodak	gnar-a-moduk tuw [cf. ngarr(a) 'hair'. Probably <i>Clematis microphylla</i> NS]
plant ⁶⁰	berrng kaung	berng-kanng tuw [misprint for kaung?] [Possibly <i>Lavatera plebeia</i> 'Native Hollyhock' NS]
plant ⁶¹	polan.go	pol-an-go tuw [<i>Triglochin procerum</i> 'Water Ribbons' NS]
plant ⁶²	wa(rr)g	warg tu [Probably <i>Sonchus oleraceus</i> 'Native saw thistle' NS]
plant ⁶³	nyulami dja	new-lem-e-ja tuw [cf. nyulam 'bad' dja 'ground' <i>Hypoxis</i> sp(p) NS]
plant ⁶⁴	korro-wort-wort	kor-or-word-wort tuw [Possibly <i>Hypoxis</i> species]

⁵⁶ The full entry is: a plant growing about a foot high, and bearing yellow flowers. The name literally signifies, 'the shadow of a turkey'.

⁵⁷ Tuckfield gives two separate entries for this word. One is 'yellow flowers' and the other is 'small plant sometimes used by the natives for covering their houses'. NS suggests this may have been for decoration.

⁵⁸ The full entry is 'a small green plant with a leaf like a turnip. When eaten it acts as an emetic'.

⁵⁹ The full entry is 'a plant with very tough long roots, which the natives plait into belts and wear around their heads'.

⁶⁰ The full entry is 'a plant found on banks of rivers. The roots supplied the natives with food at all times of the year'.

⁶¹ The full entry is 'a long green plant that grows in the bed of rivers. The stalk is rough, the leaf flat and narrow; it bears very handsome clusters of green fruit, about nine inches in length. The roots are edible'.

⁶² The full entry is 'a common salad plant'.

⁶³ The full entry is 'a small plant with yellow flowers'.

⁶⁴ The full entry is 'a very small plant with yellow flowers'.

plant ⁶⁵	buyang ka(a)l	bo-young-karl tu, bo-young-karl tuw [This could be any of 3 species of <i>Arturopodium</i> or <i>Thysanatus tuberosus</i> . The last syllable may be kaal 'dog' NS]
plant, to	batji-ma gurr	batye-magoor t2 [t3] [cf. kurr 'tree'. Probably means 'to plant a tree' NS; see also <i>flower</i>]
plantain	nhulam-i djina	nullam.i.gina b [= bad foot, one or both of native plantago species <i>Plantago gaudichaudii</i> , <i>Plantago varia</i> NS]
platypus	perridak	periduc r
play	djila-tjarri	dyillak-dirry t2, dil-it-ter-kud-jo 'I have played' tus [dyillartbe t3] [-tjarri RECIP]
Pleiades		horitmacbearn b
plenty/many	wurdi-yul-yul	wurdy-yulyul da, wurreyoolyool ey, wood de yaal yaal 'four' r wode 'big' b [boorde-nuke l Colac]
plenty/many		yultna r
plenty/many	ngurra(rr)	ngoorur t2 [t3], orar g, ngoorur 'swarm of bees' t2 [noordy-gurroong 'swarm of bees' t3]
point, a	mirr	mirrook t2 [t3] [= its eye]
polish, black		new-lern new lern tuw
pond		wira gno me r
poor		tar-an-tar-an-kud gering da-a tuw
possum	walart, walert	wallurt r, woolard tuw, walart m, wallert rhm, wollert g,ey,tu, willart t2 [t3], wollert c, wol-ard eyw, wollard tuw, wollud b [CV walert ; WD wayurta]
possum rug/cloak	walart-walart	wullart-wullart t2 [t3], wallurt-wallurt da, wulard wulard r
possum, ringtail	barnong	burnung rhm, bar-nong tu [beemugn t3], bammang t2, bor nong 'resembles a cat' tuw [WW, Dja bana]
potato	darruk	darrook t2 [goolo t3] [<i>Calystegia sepium</i> , <i>Convolvulus</i> spp. (x2) and native <i>Geranium</i> spp., all with edible roots NS]
pray	woiwoip	woiwoip tus [Dja woiwoip]

⁶⁵ The full entry is 'a plant that bears a purple flower; the root, something like a parsnip, was eaten by the natives when food was very scarce'.

pregnant	babu-werring	bahboo-werring t2 [bohpoowarring t3] [cf. babup 'baby' in <i>puppy</i>]
prepare skin for bag	tima	ti-muk
presently		[tarala l Colac word?]
press, to?	yurrimo	your e mo tuw
press, to	mirrma	mir-mak t2 [mirm-bak t3]
prick, to	bana	bunnak t2 [see <i>stab</i>] [burgak t3] [Wlp panti-rni]
promise		ngallak-bang-mirtak t [ngaiah-bunyar-burn-ngunya t3] [see <i>understand</i>]
proud	mok-borriyn	mock boreen r [see <i>peace, quiet</i>]
proud	ngotaborriyn	ngotaboreen da
provoke, to	nyugant-nyin-djurna	nyoogant-nyin-dyooma t2 [t3] [see <i>quarrel, growl</i>]
pull	witna	weet-nak t2 [winn-nak t3], wittnahk 'jerk' t2 [t3]
puppy	babup-i kaal	bahpoop-beegah t2 [= baby of dog] [waiaby-gahl t3]
quail	tirribiyn	tir been r, der-be tuw [Woi tre-bin]
quail	burrunggi	por-ong-ge tuw [Tjap, Dja; also given as <i>partridge</i> , cf. <i>broilga</i>]
quarrel	turn-tjarra-	doornderring t2 [t3] [growl-RECIP]
quench a fire, to	but-gupma	bootgoopmak t2 [cf. but-but 'swamp'; gupma = <i>do</i>] [bootgoong-ak t3]
question	gadji	gah-ginn t2 [see <i>ask, speak</i>] [doomba-gik t3]
quick	yuwaba	yoo-wah-bak [t1], t2, yanbenna-(marr) t2
quick	korme	yunay kormay 'come quick' r, kornay r, kormé ds
quick	warriwa	wariwi m, worrewa 'come on' c ⁶⁶ [worry-wee t3] [ugo l Colac?]
quiet	ngal-ngal	ngul-ngul t2 [t3] [see <i>afraid</i>]
quiet	mok-borre	mock borre r, mok boré das [see <i>peace, proud</i>]

⁶⁶ Cognates in other languages suggest these words may mean 'run'. Consider, for instance, **wirriwi** Dja.

quit, to	waling-barralan	walling-bar-allan t2 [wally-munun t3]
rage	d[h]ilbalanodin-ngotju	dilballahn-odin-gnotyoo t2 [see dhilba hit] [way-an-un-odin-marrambai-idl t3]
rail or slab		lay-lir [t1], t2 [cf. <i>sweet, oil</i>] [karrin-dyook-goomaba-papah t3]
rain	mandarr	mundar rhm, tu, tuw, munda b, mondar m, tuw, mundur-kei g, mundahr t2 [t3], munder da, mundur ey, mun der r [see <i>thunder</i>] [murrong l Colac]
rainbow	birnbial	brin-ba-al tu [CV birnbial]
rainbow	djerm	tyerm da, m, dyerim t2 [t3], derm r
raise up, to		[mearnook l Colac?]
rat	warra(rr)m	wararm tuw
razor	birtna-bil	birtnabill t2 [bir-nah-bill t3] [see <i>scrape</i>]
reconcile	ngal-ngal-la	gnul-gnul-la-gnen tu, gnul-gnul-la-nuk tu, gnul-gnul-la-won tu [see <i>quiet</i> , see <i>grammar</i>]
red	kurr-kurr-warriyn	cork gor warreen r [see <i>blood</i> , Woi kurrk warren]
red	dirrk-warrin	dirkwarin m, dark-guer-er-en tu, derpkarring rhm
red	dirrk-warrabil	derk-war-a-bil tu
red	dirrp-warrabil	durp-barrabill t2 [dirb-boordabill t3], dirbaring g
reed [common]	thaarrk	tark tuw, tu [WV tjaark] [<i>Phragmites australis</i> NS]
reed necklace	thaarrk-kurn	tark-korn tuw [= reed neck]
resin	djutj, djuwutj	dyoo-ity t2 [t1] [t3] [This is gum from <i>Eucalyptus</i> spp.; similar forms in Dja, Tjap and Warr]
resist, to	wali-mag-	wally-maggin t2 [wally-maggahn t3]
rest	nyewe-aan	nye-we-ahn t2 [nye-wen-an t3]
rest	borrela	borel-a tu
return	[y]urritjarrapmili-	urityarrapmilling t2 [woh-marra-mun t3]
rheumatism	gatj-gatj	gaity-gaity t2 [t1] [t3]

rib	nyil-i lirin	nyillilimin ri, nyilliliran rhm, lenningen t2 [t3], gnel e ler er etuk tuw [see <i>bone</i> , larn- and similar in WV]
ride	biyangala	bi-ang-al-a tu, bei-yang-gah-t-yik t2 [beiyang- ngalla-gnyee t3]
right	wayn.gurr	waingur m [see 'good']
right, to the	djiyubon	ge-u-bon tu
ring	gurta	goortak t2 [wundyak t3]
rise, to	djerradji	gerradye t2 [t3] [see <i>waken</i>]
river/creek	yaluk	yalloc r, yalok m, yaloke l, yalloak b, yalluck g, gallook t2, yalock da, yallack 'water' p [CV] [goolonguty t3]
river/creek	borran-borak	boranborak p
river/creek	nganya-kurk-gurring	ng-anyak-goork-gooring t [t3] (nganya = little)
roast, to	dotnang	dottnung [t1], t2 [see <i>warm</i>] [bah-wak t3]
rock	laa(rr)(ng)	lah t2, lang t3 [WB, Tjap la(rr) , Woi laang] [see <i>stone</i>]
rod, snaring	ta(r)n	tarn tuw
roll		wer-nen tuw
root, edible	kudjing marra	koodgingmurrah mo [eat + -marra , variant of -barra ? See §3.7.3 (b)]
root, tree	warran	war-an tuw, warran t2 [t1] [t3]
round	dilp	dilp t2 [t3], delp 'ball' tus
rug	dalang	dallang tu, b, dallong g [Tjap]
rum	kurrayn	gooraign t2 [see <i>salt</i> , <i>bitter</i> , <i>spirit</i>] [bullim t3] [see <i>intoxicated</i> , <i>spirit</i>]
run, to		culmungut g
run, to	ko(r)nony-	kornonyit r [see quick]
run, to	wate	wate m [see <i>come</i>] [balaga-larnuke l Colac]
rush used for baskets		war-war-ok tuw [<i>Lomandra longifolia</i> or possibly <i>Carex tereticaulis</i> NS]

	wirrana	wer-an-a tuw [This entry is unglossed, but may be related to 'rush' which it follows. It may be 'basket grass'. The form wirrana could be cognate with We widji . Cf. We widjan Dja wirran 'feather' NS]
rustle, to	kaale	ka-a-le tuw 'sound of rustling or rippling'
sad	kolo(r)niyn	kolorneen r, da
sad	konda	konda tu [Wlp kurnta 'shame', 'embarrassed']
sad, to look	manderring	man-der-ing tuw
safe	burndawan	boorndawan t2 [boondinyun t3]
salt [to?]	gurratnabang	goorahtnabang t2 [t3]
salt	korra(y)n	koran r [see 'bitter'; Nyungic langs: kari , kara]
sand	kurrak	ko-rok tuw, kor ok tuw, goorak t2 [t3], korak rhm [WV kurrak]
saved	kawarre	kow wore tuw
saved	kinkadona	kin kud don na tu
scar, ornamental	karrakin	kan a kan nuk tuw, kar-a-kin tuw
scar, to		garra-kin t2 [t3] [cf. preceding entry; also given as <i>wound</i>]
scissors	bulawan	bul-la-won 'two bladed instrument like scissors' tu
scrape	birna	birntnak t2 [see <i>peel</i> , <i>shave</i>] [boondak t3]
scratch	gala-mili-	gallar-milligyinn t2 [t3] [Dja]
scratch the earth	danoda	dar-no-da tu
scream	djani	junnin t2 [t3]
scrub	djirrp-djirrp	gyirp-gyirp t2 [t1] [t3]
sea	warri	warre b, wahry t2 [wahring t3], wurdy ware r, warm-gner-op tuw 'flow of the sea', nor-koge warre 'ebbing of sea' tuw [Tjap waarri , Dja warri , Woi warriyn], yorran p; maree l [Colac?]
seal	kurrman	koorman t, koorman 'large sea animal' mo [Tjap kurn murn ; cf. <i>snake</i> , <i>neck</i>]
search	yarrka-	yahrka-nyook t2 [yahr-gahn-yahr t3] [WV yarka]

see	nya-	nyang-ahk t2 [t3], nyaalin m, na-i-tan tuw, ne-jular-nook l, naring r, nar-ing tus, nyaiyu rhm [nya-/nha- widespread]
separate	lagona-bulin	largornak-boollin t2 [t3] [= ?-two; Wlp lakarn-pu]
serve, to		girmnyook t2 [t3]
several	gitjawil	getyaul rhm
sew, to	dirringga	dir-ring-ahk t2 [deering-galk t3] [Tjap dinga , dirringga ; cf. dirr 'spear']
shadow		kale merang r
shadow	mula	moola t2 [t3], mula tuw, m [Woi mula , YY mulawa]
shake, to	bularri-nye-yurrimbo	boolahry-nye-aye-yoorimboo t2 [boolarin-ga-yorimboon t3] [see <i>irritate</i>]
shame	derraba	der-a-ba tu [see <i>bashful</i>]
shark	ban(h)ip	banip r, bunip r [see <i>bunyip</i>]
sharp	ngarrayt	ngarrait t2 [t3] [Tjap, Dja ngarrit]
shave, to	birna-	bit-nak t2 [brit-nar-de, beer-nak t3] [Tjap; see <i>peel</i> , <i>scrape</i>]
she-oak	ngarri	gnare r, ngare da [cf. ngarr 'hair' <i>Allocasuarina verticillata</i> NS]
sheep	bulgana	bul-gano tus [Tjap buldjina ; see <i>bullock</i> ; jumbuck g] [Pidgin, origin unknown],
shell	derruk	dayrook t2 [mah-mah t3]
shell, mussell	talanga-talum	tal-lang-a-tal-loom tuw [Woi talang 'shell']
shell, mussell	korren	koren tuw
shield (waddy)	malka	mulka g, molga tuw, mahlkar t2 [t3], malka t, molka m, malga c, mulka rhm, malga da, r [widespread Vic also WD malka , Warlpiri malkarri 'designs on shield']
shield , broad	kirram	girram ri, geramb b, kearm r, giram rhm, guram da, gerum g, guram r [WV kirram and similar]
shine	belerren	bel-er-en tu [Dja bilarrong]
ship	wurdi gurrong	woordy-gurrong t2, koorong mo [= big boat; CV wurdabu 'big'] [wayla-bill t3]

shirt	darrungal	darroong-allook t2 [t3] ⁶⁷
shore	korrak	korac r [see <i>sand</i>]
short	murt	murt m, moert ey, tu, mort tuw, rhm [some WV, Bung, Colac]
shoulder	ngam	ngam rhm, da, gnarm-etuk tuw, gnam gne tuck r
shoulder-blade	kang(g)an	kangan da
show, point to		wer-ner-ing tuw
shrub ⁶⁸	wongalok	wong-a-lok tuw
shrub ⁶⁹	boyurrok	boi-u-rok tuw [<i>Croodemia ovata</i> NS]
shrub, a kind of	karron	kar-on tu [<i>Bursaria spinosa</i> . The colonial terms were 'Prickly box' or 'Native myrtle' NS]
shrub, white flower ⁷⁰	tarrakado	tar-a-ka-do [Most likely <i>Prostanthera lasianthos</i> 'Victorian Christmas Bush' NS]
shut your eyes	nyipma	nyip-me t2 [milly-bay t3] [see <i>blind</i>]
sick	murrat	morat r, moorat das [Wlp murru-murru]
sick	warrwa	war-war da [see <i>pain</i>]
sick	djuwewan	dyoo-ay-wahn t2 [doo-doo-wahn t3] [Warlpiri djudju 'bad']
silence, keep	nyala-ki-la-	ngyalla-gy-illy t2 [= <i>no speak</i>] [ngaiyup-dyoonbar-be t3]
sinew	ngarrm	gnarm gne tuck [Tjap ngarram ; see <i>tendon</i>]
sing, to	ying-	ying-ay-lay t2 [ying-gahr-bay t3], yingile m, yeanlineaati b [Tjap ying- ; WD yinka]
sister		wairn ga knet-tuk ey
sister, elder	tjatjarrang	dattyerrung rhm, tatyurun m, totorang p, dajerik 'my sister' tuw, dajorongbullok 'elder of two' tuw, ta-ta-rong 'sister' da, ta ta rong 'sister' r, jahtyirroong 'sister' t2 [dah-did t3] [WV tjatji]
sister, elder	wurranak	wooranark c

⁶⁷ In Woiwurrung **dharrangaluk** means 'trousers'. Hercus (1993:158) suggests that this is dharrang 'thigh, leg' + GENITIVE + 3RD.SG. POSSESSOR.

⁶⁸ The full entry is 'a shrub growing about 3 feet high, and, like the boiurok, found in great abundance on the banks of rivers'.

⁶⁹ The full entry is 'a small shrub, yellow flowers. The leaves are eaten by the emu'.

⁷⁰ The full entry is 'a very beautiful bushy shrub that grows near rivers, and bears clusters of white flowers.'

sister, younger	bar̥mbarra	burrumbarak rhm, bormboranyuk m, bambrak p, bermboragik 'my younger sister' tuw, burm-ba-rook 'sister' da, bermborok 'sister' tuw
sit down	mun.gurre	mon gore r, moon gore r, moon-goré ds
sit, to	burre	bure rhm, boor-ray-ann t2, pura m [Tjap burra-] [gnyallam-bunyan t3] [pat-gar-nook l Colac?]
skin	dalan[g]	tallanook pw [We talan, Tjap talang]
skin	wirr	weer gne tuck r
skin	mitj	mitti t2 [t3], mityatuk c, mityuk m [WV]
skin, to?	lapma	lap-mak t2 [t3] [= 'to skin?']
skin, dry, stretched	wet-no	wet-no tuw
sky	wurr-wurr	woorer-woorer tu, wor-a-wor tuw, wuruwur m, worrawark p, woorer-woorer ey, wur-wur rhm, woor-woor t2 [t3] [see 'blue'] [WV, CV]
sky	lakorra	lacorra p
sleep, to	kumba, kuwamba	goomby-lyan t2, quambie mos, kumba m, kombangat c, goom-bee-t-yahn t2 [WV kumba-; see <i>lie down</i>], komkarneetyan ey, kumir rhm [ngyallam-bunyan t3] [calarga-nuke l Colac?]
sleepy	polarren	pol-ar-en tuw
slip, to	ment-gulitjin	mentgoolyginn t [ment-men t3] [see <i>forehead</i> ?]
slow	bulkal kulne	bulkal kulne m [Tjap]
slowly	wolabatok	wol-a-ba-tok tuw
small	nganyaki	gnun-ye-ge tuw, annike r, anaki l, ngnyanna-goork t2, ngunyagurk rhm, nganyagurk m, nany a korooh pw [3 preceding entries, cf. 'woman'], ngunagay 'narrow' t2 [wai-ay-boo 'narrow', wai-yip-boo t3] [CV]
small	kurrenye	kur-en-ye tuw
smell	ngarropa	ng-arr-oh-pa t2 [t3], naro billeen r [WW ngarupa 'to smell', similar other WV]
smell (N)	bang	bang m [see <i>body, flesh</i>]
smelt		yourn-it tu
smoke	burt	bohrt t2 [t3], burt m, bort r, boit r, bolt c [WV, CV], toong l [Colac]

smoke	bunitjan	boon-it-yan t2 [boon-dun-yan t3]
snake	kurn-mil	kornmil da, m, koornmil c, corn null r, goormill t2 [t3], gurnmil 'black snake' rhm [WV kurnwil , kurnmil ; cf. kurn 'snake']
snake		conmoit p [see <i>one</i> ?]
snake, large	kadak	kar-duk tu
snow	gapang	gahpang t2 [t3] [Dja, Woi]
soft	motaa	mo-ta-a tuw
soft	konong	kon-ong tu
soft	wita	wittah t2 [YY yita]
soft, pliable, flexible	tokol	to-kol tuw
sole	dung-i djinang	tong e gen ong etuk tuw [belly of foot]
somewhere	molalba	mol-lal-ba tuw
son		maun p
son	mamam	mamahng t2, mamamik g, mommomik tuw, ma mam r [bohpoop-marrambai-ick t3]
song	yeng-ying	yayng-ying t2 [t3] [see <i>sing</i>]
sore	warrawan	warra-wan t2 [wahr-woo-magn-gnyahn t3] [see <i>pain</i>]
sore	boyung	bo-i-young tu [Warlpiri puyu 'bruise']
sorry	warrongaa	warro-gnah-ah t2 [goong-gahn-ngyoolem-boorden t3] [see <i>mourn</i> ; Warlpiri warungka 'mad', 'forget', 'lose']
sour	nyuliman	gnyooly-mun t2 [goon-gay-gnyoolem t3] [see <i>bad</i>]
south	korren	koren tu [Tjap kurriyn 'south (wind)']
spade	warrik	warrik [t1], t2 [t3]
spark	tjibi wiyin	je be weng tuw, tibby wing r [see <i>fire</i>]
spark	djilaga	dyillar-gah t2 [dillar-gagn t3] [Tjap t[h]ilaka]
speak, to	wurru-ki	nartun whoora-keeh ey

speak, to	kila	gele rhm, geelan rhm, gelan rhm, gay-ay-ling t2, geela m, ngyalla-gy-illy t2 'Hold your tongue' [= not speak] [WV kiya] [ngyaiah-bun-doombar-bee [not speak] t3, dyoom-bahr-dan t3] [see <i>talk, tell</i>]
speak, to	nyayl	gnail r, ngael da [see <i>voice, word</i>]
spear	karrp	karp tu, tuw, da, carp b, r, karrup g, karrip 'long' t2, karp 'long' ey, karrup 'jagged' rhm, kaarp 'war', karp 'wooden' m
spear		derg da, derg 'cane' r
spear, barbed	kuyun	koyun r [gooyun 'long spear' t3] [WV, CV]
spear, flint tipped	korren warrabil karrp	koren-war-a-bil-karp tu [see korren shell ; see also <i>feather, tribesman feather</i>]
spear, hunting	dirr, darr?	daire tu, dir ri, der rhm, daire b, daar 'small wooden' mo, darrah 'short' t2 [t3], daar 'woomera' c [Tjap] ⁷¹
spear, hunting		gare 'hunting' tuw
spear, jagged	ka(r)nwil	karnwell mo
spear, reed	tjaarrk	tark ey, tyark rhm, m, jaark c, tark 'hunting' tu [see <i>reed</i>]
speech	wurru-tanyuk	wooru-tan yook tu [= egg of the mouth]
speech	wurru-wurrung	woroo-worong tuw [see <i>mouth</i>]
speech, noise of much	yaba-yaba	ya-ba ya-ba tuw [Pidgin]
spider	barna-karrik	burnakurrik rhm [see next entry]
spider	marna-karrik	murna gi org r, marnacarrik 'tarantula' t2 [Tjap] [dayrp-dayrp 'tarantula' t3] ⁷²
spirit, evil	kutjil	goh-t-yill t2 [t3], kutyul m, kotyul da, cotyn r [Dja kutjel]
spirit/ghost	buno-bunggarri	boono-boong-gari da
spirit/ghost	murru	murup m, rhm, ri, detable moroponuk 'Great Spirit' tus [WV, Warr, Woi murru]
spirit/ghost	murru	morom tuw, murru knook ey, tu, detable mur-rum-nuk 'Great Spirit' tus

⁷¹ Compare Wemba-Wemba **dirr** 'stone tomahawk'.

⁷² This word appears to contain **marna** 'hand'. A number of Australian languages have words for 'spider' based on 'hand', e.g. Bularnu (Q) **mudhuburtka** 'hand-many' (Gavan Breen)

spirits [alcohol]	kurrayn	gooraign [see <i>salt, bitter, rum</i>]
spirits [alcohol]	balim	bullum [see <i>rum</i>]
spit	tjurrkurrma	tyoorkurmak t2 [dyoogur-mun t3] [Woi similar]
spring [season]		yank-yank tuw
sprinkle	karre	kare mer ing 'sprinkled' tuw, kar e mog-en 'sprinkle me' tuw, kare muk get no we 'sprinkle this one' tuw
spy, a	mirr-wa	mir-wak t2 [mir-wak t3] [probably a verb; see <i>eye, watch</i>]
squint	wem-mirr	wem-mir t2 [t1] [t3] [see <i>eye</i>]
squirrel	warren	war-en tuw [Woi warrayn]
squirrel, flying	yandul	yarn-dool t2 [t1] [t3]
squirrel, flying	tuan	toogan g, duan rhm, to-an tuw, tuum b [Tjap, Dja]
stab, to	bana	bannak t2 [bar-kahk t3] [see <i>prick, pick, kill</i>]
stand, to	djarrika	dyarrike rhm, ba-e-tar e ga 'only stand up' tu [Tjap] [see <i>get up</i>]
star	turt-barram	doort-barrum t2 [t3], fot-ba-rum eyw, turtparom m, torporrum p, toortberang c, toorberneen da, toort-baram tu, ey, tot-ba-ram tuw, tutbarum b, turtbaram rhm, tot-ba-ram tuw [WV, CV turt , YY duta]
steal, to	pilm- pilm gunang 'thief'	bilm-goonang t2, bilm-gon-ong 'thief' tu, pilmillally g, pilmirringoora pw, [bool-lahrga-bil- milling t3], bil-mal-a-bil-won-ok [wor-ok?] 'stealing woman' tu,
steam	wa-wa-mung	wah-wah-moong t [wah-wah-woong t3]
step, to or a	walum	wahl-loom t2 [t3]
stick, long	talk	talk p [cf. <i>spear, reed</i> ; note also kalk 'wood']
stick, short	ma(rr)-talk	martalk p
stick, pointed, as fork		pon-it-bul-gan tuw
sticks, corroboree	porrongayn	por-ong-gine tuw
stinking	buwang	baung tu [Dja buanggin , Woi buang ; Warlpiri etc. puka]

stockrider		baiah-nyungay-baiah-alla-bilh t2 [bahng-googn-gnyahn-gurt-damio t3]
stockyard		ngallak-pan [t1], t2, t3
stomach/belly	dung	dong da, doong t2 [t3], gtongatuk c, doong t2, tong-etuk tuw, tong p, poitch m [= CV putj; [WD dju(r)ni]
stone	laa(rr)	la tuw, g, da, rhm, m, lah t2, lar ey, lu eyw, la rhm, m, law p, laark c, tu, lar 'ironstone' r [lahng t3] [WW, Tjap, Dja larr , CV laang]; Warlpiri larri-larri 'gravel', 'stoney']
stone, lava [scoria?]	walendak	wal.len.duc 'stone used for sharpening <i>murnong</i> [yam daisy] stick' r
	karrkiyn	kor-a-kin tu, karkeen 'hard granite' mo
stoop	wirrpe	wirrpai t2 [t3]
stop [cease?]	nyala-gupma	ngyalla-gohp-mak t2 [= not do] [ngaiya-goong-nyak t3] [tarrecarnuke l Colac?]
stop all		bo-wer-e-wot tu
stop [cease]	walima	wallymak t2 [t3]
stop/stay	warr-	worik 'I [stop]' tus, woren 'you stay' tus, wooreen 'is [located]' das [cf. Warlpiri karri 'stand']
storm	wurdi warradjak	wurdy warajac r,urdy warajuc r [big-?]
straight	nyirrirrm	nyirirm m [see <i>long</i>]
stranger	ngamadjiyt	ummageet [= man, white]
string	nyun-nyan ⁷³	nyoon-nyun t2 [see <i>halter</i> , <i>hang a man, tie</i>] [nyanyegay-wootyool-wootyool t3]
string	narranuwia	naranuwea b
stringybark	kurrurr	kurr-rurr t2 [koor-roor t3] [<i>Eucalyptus obliqua</i> NS]
strong	wunggurrwil	wongurwil da, wongerwil r, woongor-will 'gallop' t2
strong	balert	ballett t2, balert m [see <i>hard</i>] [detell t3]
stumble	dilp-manggin	dilp-mungin t2 [cf. 'round'] [dilp-madyik t3]

⁷³ Possibly **nyurn-nyurn**. See *halter*.

stump	dulu	dullo t2 [dullong t3], dulloo 'tree trunk' t2 [Tjap dulu]
stunned	daandup-gurnaarrin	dahndoop-goornahrin t2 [dahndork-goonoonyasin t3]
subtle		goongyer-gooleywim t2 [goongyer-garrondyin t3]
sugar	kep-kep	capecape b [see <i>sweet</i>]
sulky	getak	gayt-uk t2 [dort-yuk t3] [see <i>angry</i>]
summer	kurrkart	kurkart rhm, goor-kurt t2 [t3], kor kat you r, kor kat 'warm weather' r [Tjap kart-]
sun	mirri	mere tuw, mirri ey, mirree t2 [t3], meree da, mer-e eyw, mirree b, mirri rhm, merri g, mering c, mirri m, meerie r, maira p [na l Colac word]
sunrise	pilk purriyn	pilk poureen r [yon-warra-gang l Colac?]
sunset	tali-talik	talli tallic r, talle tallic r [ponairee l Colac]
surprised		go-ho t2 [t1] [t3] [also <i>wonderful</i>]
suspend, to	benda	benda-ahk t2 [bendoong-ahk t3]
swallow		ullemungeit g
swallow	buwiiwtj, wiwitj	bo-ee-wity t2, wi wait r [wie-wity t3] [Tjap wiiwtj]
swallow	ngorrkurak	gnohr-koorak t2 [gno-ko-rok tu, ngohg-goordoo-wahk t3]
swamp	but-but	boot boot t2 [from name of club rush <i>Schoenoplectus</i> and/or <i>Bolboschoenus</i> ; cf. <i>bourt-bourt</i> 'rush' CV, <i>pot-pot</i> 'pith of rush' Warr NS]
swan	kunuwarra	kon-o-war tuw, koonoowarra c, konwar d, konorar r, goona-warra t2 [t3], kunuwar m, goonowur 'goose' t2 [t3] [WV, Warr, CV]
sweat	wurrawan	woron gnetuk, woorur-wan t2 [t3] [Dja wurra] [see <i>pain, sore</i>]
sweep, to		matbarnuk-ya t [ngahnyin-goordak-bik t3]
sweet	leli-wang	layly-wang t2 [lay-lik t3] [see <i>oil</i>]
sweet	kep-kep	kepgip m [Tjap kip-kip ; see <i>sugar</i>]
swim	yulwarra	youl-wer-e tuw, yolwaring r [yow-wa t3] [YY yarrwan]
swim	nyurrka	nyoorka t2 [Tjap]

swing	yurrimili	yooree-millin t2 [yoorim-barboon t3] [Tjap]
tail	torr	dohr t2 [dohrook t3] dorok m, torok r
take care	gobata	gohk-bah-tak t2 [gohk-bah-lah] [warre-turra l Colac?]
take, to	mutjaka	mootyak t2, mutyaka m [see <i>bring</i>][Tjap, Dja] [goong-ak t3]
talk, to	ki-tjarra-(la)	ket-ter-a-len tus, kel-ter-a-len tus, geetye-ring t [see <i>tell, speak</i>] [dyoombar-be t3]
taste	wirr(p)ma	wirm-mak-goong t2 [wirp-mak-ganyewity t3] [see <i>touch</i> ; Wlp wirrp -mi 'eat (special register)']
tea	gerranyuk	grahn-nyook t [geran-nyook t3] [= 'its leaf'? see <i>vegetable, leaf</i>]
tea-tree	buno	boono r, da, t2 [gennap t3] [We bunud , Dja bunu <i>Leptospermum lanigerum</i> 'Woolly Tea-tree' NS]]
tear, to	durruma	dooroomak t2 [dooroombak t3] [Tjap djurruwa, Dja djurruma , Woi durrm-durrma 'torn']
tears	ngopiyt	ngopity t2 [see <i>drink</i>]
tears	torr-i mirr	tor-i-myrr da, tory myrr r [= dew of eye] [bahn 'water' t3]
tell, to	kia-, karri-	keyak ey, keaka m, ka ung tus, karing tus, tug, ka-a tus [We, Dja kia ; cf. <i>speak, talk</i>] [onun-burri- nuke l Colac word]
temple		ngalla-gurring t2 [ngaiah-bunyahr t3]
temple		top bodio gnt gne tuck r
ten	bolen marna	bolen mirna m [= two hands]
tendon	ngarrm	ngahrum t [t3] [see <i>sinew</i>]
tent	yirri-burrang	yayry-brurng t2 [t3] [cf. <i>yeery boorang</i> t1]
thank, to or thankful	nyatne	gnyahtnay t2 [gnohtyay t3]
that	kame	kame tuw [gah-poop t3]
that	getme	getme ri
there	kayupan	gayoopan t2, kiupan rhm, kiripan ri [see <i>gather</i>]
there	gelanyi, modanyi	ge-la-gne ['nearer'] tus, moda-gne ['farther'] tus

thigh	karrim	karrim-nyuk ri, karreem nook ey, karem tuw, kar em etuk tuw, karingatuk tuw, karreem nook tu
thigh	karrip	karrip rhm, kareep da, carip gne tuck r, karip m, karribunnalong mos [WV, Warr karrip]
thigh joint	nyil-i mulong	gnel e mul-ong-etuk tuw [see <i>bone</i> ; Dja mulu 'thigh'] ⁷⁴
thin	nyil-mulong	nyill-moolong t2 [t3]
think, to	barra	burra t2 [moola-go t3]
think, to	nyani-	ngyanin m
thirsty	kurtngang-	kor nong een r, kurtngangin [goornyan t3], goortnungin t2 [Warr kurtngang]
this	matnyu, mutanyi	mutnyu ri, mod-a-gne tus (also given as <i>that</i>)
thread		gyayritt t2 [t3]
three	bulayt ba koynmayt	bullaitpar koen-moet pw [= two + one]
three	buladji koynmayt	polagi koinmet c [= two one]
three	kurt-	gortgerderin g, gortgurning g, kurt-go-rin da
three	bulayt guimatj	boolety-goheemuty t2 [t3] [= two one]
three	bulayt ba mayt	pol late parn mate r, buletpaimot m [2 + 1]
three	kulik	kullik rhm, kollok tu
throw down, to	kunwarrip	koonwarrip b [see <i>wrestle</i>]
throw down, to	badupmo	bar dop mo tu [Wlp pata-kidjirni , pata-pungu]
throw, to	yung(g)a	yoong-ak t2 [t3], yungak rhm, young-al-a tuw, yoong-nguk t2 [yoong-gak t3] [WV yungka]
thumb	ngardang-i marna	gnur dong e mur na etuk tuw, ngardung-i-murna da, gnyartoongay-munna t2, gnurdungi murna gne tuck r [= mother of hand] [waykabill-munna t3]
thunder	tarnbil	tan bill r, turnbil da
thunder	mandarra	mundar tu, mondar tuw, mundara c, mondara m, mundur pw [also WV; YY munarra ; see <i>rain</i>]
thunder	karning	kar-ning t2 [t3], kurnun g [cf. karna 'call']
tickle, to	gadja-gadja	gudya-gudyak t2 [t3]

⁷⁴ Tuckfield gives **yellarre-nyinuk-mulong** in Colac.

tie	nyuna	nyoonak t2, nun-ok tuw, numering tuw [see <i>halter, string</i>] [birbak t3]
tinder	nyen	ngyen t2 [t3] [see 'charcoal']
tired	djunaawan	dyoona-ahwan (also 'weary') t2, don-goorday-nyun (also 'weary') [t3] [cf. <i>idle</i>]
tired	tirmilin	dermillin rhm, tirmilin m
tobacco	bononyit	bono-nyit t2 [t3] [cf. buno 'tea-tree']
today	mirriyu	merio da, r, miriyo m [see <i>day, sun</i>]
toe		duribizinang mos [see <i>foot</i>]
toe	murr-g-i djingang	morg-i-dinang da, morg y tinang gne tuck r [= head of foot]
toe	ngartong-i djingang	natin jenir p, ngatongi dyinong m [= mother of foot], lartung-idyenang t2 [t3]
tomahawk		kalbalerak c, galpillynark t2 [t3] [see <i>cut, knife</i>]
tomahawk	ka(rr)kayn	karkain da, r [Warr, Woi karrkiyn , see <i>stone used for axe</i>]
tomahawk	kalpaling-kurrk	kallallingurks t, kalpalingork m, kulpallangurk rhm
tomorrow	yirram-nyu, yirram-dju	yeramun tu, ey, eramu tu, tuw, yiramnyu ri, eramnua b, iramneu da, eraninio r, ee-ram-nyoo t2, yiranmu m, yerrandyu rhm, yeramdyu g [ee-ram-bity t3]
tomorrow, day after	yi-yirram	yey-yeram da, yey yey ram r
tongue	tjalang	tallan yook ey, dyellung rhm, dyilang m, yelling gne tuck r, jellang mos, dyelling ri, galanatuk c, glannen p, tel-ling da, dellang t2 [t3], tallan tu, tellang tuw [widespread thalayn/tjalayn]
too much		carte-doon-garnook l [Colac?]
tooth	liang	leung g, liangeduk mos, liang rhm, liangeduck tuw, leeyung t2 [t3], lean yook ey, leanyook tu, leanatuk c, liana da, lea p, liang m, leang gne tuck r [WV lia , CV liang ; cf. widespread lirra 'tooth', 'mouth']
toothache	ngun-ngun	gnon gnon r, ngoon-ngoon t2 [t3]
top	murrk	moork t2 [see 'head'] [gawang t3] [see 'head']
torch		dore-mert tu, doremert b

touch, to	wirrpma	wirp-mak t2 [wir-mak t3] [Tjap (t1) wirrma ; see <i>taste, use</i>]
town	wurdi garrong	woordy-gurrong t2[= plenty hut] [waykabill t3]
track	ka(r)ndorr	karndohr-ray-gat t2, kandor m, cam dor r [bar-ring t3]
trade, to	wa	[see <i>give</i>]
tread on, to	garra	gahr-rak t2 [gurra-ganyawity t3] [see <i>kick, wade</i> ; Dja karriyn]
tree		berd tu [Possibly <i>Eucalyptus gonicalyx</i> ‘Bastard Box’ on the basis of Thomas <i>beet</i> ‘box (bastardy)’ in the CV language NS]
tree	kurr	kur g, goohr t2, car p, gur m [see <i>flower, waddy</i>], koor par gerong [= ? and leaf?] [kalk t3]
tree	burn wam	bourm.wam ‘tree on which the natives cross a creek or river’ b
tree, fruit		tungadu b
tree, hollow		deringbal tu
tree, small		bone tu [probably <i>tea-tree</i>]
tribe	wurdi-i garrong guli	woordy-garroong-gooly t2 [many hut man], [woordy-garroong-willam t3]
tribe, finny	nilang-warrabil	nil-arng-war-a-bil tuw [possibly nhilam-warra-bil ‘bad ones’]
tribe, fur	nga(rr)-warrabil	gnar-war-a-bil tu tu
tribe, fur	nan-warren, nanok	nan-wor-en tuw, nan-ok tuw
tribe, one of the fur	worm-marrabil	worm-mar-a-bil tuw [= worm-warrabil?]
tribe, one of the fur	nan-warrabil	nan-wor-a-bil tuw
tribesman, feather	kurran-warrabil	kor-on-wor-a-bil tuw [see <i>feather</i>]
trot, to	kankandji	kan-kan-je tuw
trousers		garngyay-duk t2 [gar-ngay-dah t3]
trout, small	thurrpurt	thurpurt rhm
trust	gunyanggurta	go-in-yung-goorta t2 [t3]
try, to	yungakung	yoong-a-koong t2 [t3]

turkey	tarriwil	tar-i-wel tuw, tarawil da, tar a wil r, tharaiwil 'plain turkey' rhm, toraiwil 'wild turkey' m
turtle	barribin	barribin rhm
twilight	thali-thali	talli-talli da [see <i>yesterday</i>]
twist		ber-wo tu
twist	marruna	murroo-nak [t1], t2 [t3]
two	bulayt, bulatj	pol late r, bulad tu, boolite da, bullait ey, bulleit g, bulaity ri, bullaity rhm, boolety t2 [t3], polagi c, bulech m, bul-ad-barp-bul-ad 'two and two' ts [bula widespread]
ulcer	wirrp(a)	wir-pak t2 [t1] [wir-pik t3]
uncle	tandop	tanddopek tuw
under	maiwurr	mai-wurr t2 [t3] [Tjap mayuga]
under	maiwan	myone nuk tuw [see <i>long time</i>]
understand	ngarrwirring	ngahrwirring-an t2 [see <i>hear, ear</i>] [ngarmgoonyan t3]
understand, I don't		bang-mir-dowar-ngyin t2 [ngyaiup-banyin- ngahrng-ngoon t3] [see <i>promise</i>]
undertake, to	gulawan	goolahwun t2 [wandagay t3]
unhappy		go-ngyan-noollen-boorin t2 [goon-gan-noollern- boorting t3]
unhealthy	wulemburri	woollem-boory-nyun t2 [noollem-boordinyun t3]
untie		pod-jo-uk tuw
up	kambaba	kum-bah-ba t2 [gub-a-wity t3] [see <i>above</i> , cf. <i>here</i> <i>about</i> ; Warlpiri kampa.rru 'before, ahead']
up there	mombangi	mom-ba-gne tus
use, to	wirrpma	wirp-mak t2 [see <i>taste, touch</i>] [dootdang t3]
vegetable		girahnyook t2 [t3] [see <i>tea, leaf</i>]
vein	ngarrm	ngarram t2 [Tjap, Dja; see <i>sinew, tendon</i>] [laytin t3]

vengeance, to take	bana-gamyeban	bunnak-gumyebun t2 ⁷⁵ [burkak-gunnyoop t3] [see <i>kill, prick, stab</i>]
vertebrae		wawpillon-gnyill-gnyin t2 [see <i>bone</i>] [waw-pall-a-pill t3]
vex		nyoo-gantnyin-dyoorna t2 [t3] [see <i>growl</i>]
vicious	bunbun-djirrin.gurn	boonboon dirin gorn da, bun bun dyrim gorm r [cf. buna bite]
visitor	yanabil	yan-a-bil tuw [yana- 'go' + -bil]
voice	nyayl	nyayl t2 [t3] [see <i>speak</i>]
voluntary	gumgarramilla	goom-garra-millahn t2 [goong-arra-ngunyan t3]
vomit	garrpmawa-	garp-ma-wan t2 [garm-moon-yan t3] [WW, We garrma]
waddy	kurr	koor mo, goor t2, koor t [see <i>tree</i>]
waddy	wawarra	wauwarra b [see <i>club, woomera</i>] [ganny t3]
waddy	wirrawirr	wir-a-wir tuw
waddy (curved end)	liang-wil	leangil tu, leangwell tuw, liangwil da, liangmill, jeangwell mo, lang wil r, liang-al ri [= tooth having; see <i>club, fighting</i>]
wade, to	garra ngopik [ngopiyt?]	garrak-ngopeek t2 [see <i>tread, water</i>] [garrak-bahn t3]
waken	djerradjawan	gerrait-ya-wan t2 [see <i>stand, rise, get up</i>] [winndar-bai-gohng t3]
walk, to	yan-	yannoik c, yannegut g, yan-gal-e-nut tuw, yan ong it r, yanny t2, yanne rhm, yanni m [yan-yar-nuke 1 Colac?] [yan- widespread]
wall	mamaborriyn	mamaboreen t2 [t3]
wallaby		go-yin t2 [t3] [see <i>kangaroo</i>]
wander		ya-ya-do, ya-a-dering, yar-a-gar tus [all given as 'wander in spirit']
war	band[h]errin	bunderrin t2 [t3]
warm		wer-a-la-gnen tuw
warm	yudorro	you-do-ro tuw

⁷⁵ The transcription from Thomas has been checked from two tokens, one given for 'revenge' and the other for 'take vengeance'. Thomas has written a bar over the *y*, which normally signifies that the *y* is part of a digraph. One would expect a preceding *n* rather than an *m*, particularly in light of the t3 entry.

warm		narwoorarnng ey
warm	dotnang-nyin	doht-nung-gnyin t2 [see <i>roast</i>] [doh-nun-ngyahn t3]
wash	ka(rr)wele	kar-wel-le tus [Tjap karrwila]
watch, to	mirri	mirree t2 [see <i>eye</i>]
watch, watchful	mirwa	mir-wak t2 [t3] [see <i>eye, spy</i>]
water	ngubiyt	gnobeet r, noabeet da, ngobik c, gnuwet tu, mobit g, ngubity rhm, ngo pit m, o-pity t2 [t3], obait b, gnuwet tuw, gno-bet eyw, moabeet ey, moabet tu [widespread ngapa]
water, salt	korrayn ngubiyt	corain b, koram gnobeet r [= salt water]
watercress		bor-wor tuw [<i>Rorippa laciniata</i> NS]
waterhole	wirrm-ngum	wirm-ngoom t2, werra-ngom das [goornung t3] [cf. <i>river</i>]
wattle tree	garra	gurrah t2 [t3] [Woi garrang] [<i>Acacia pycnantha</i> NS]
wattle, silver	ngelitj	ngellity t2 [t3] [<i>Acacia mearnsii</i> or <i>Acacia dealbata</i> NS]
wave	lurdo	lurdo r
weak	ba(r)nd[h]irri	barn-dirry-nyan t2 [t3]
weak	palka	palka ba-ngik m
wear out clothes, to	djinidjawulrrin	dyinny-dya-wool-rin t2 [dindy-bik-goorting t3]
wear, to		wea tuw [English?][see <i>where</i>]
weed	garringa-barra	garringa-burrar t2 [boh-wuty t3] [Possibly karinga ‘to grow’ + barra ‘grass’ or - barra (see §3.7.3 (b)) NS]
weeping	budjuwerren	bo-jo-wer en tu
wet	ngobitjurren	gnubet-u-ren tuw, tu [see <i>water</i>]
what	winya	vinyar b, winya m, winyar tuw, winyer tuw, winger tuw [root winya is widespread]
wheel	werna-werna-bil	wayma-wayrnabill t2 [t3]
whelp	bobom	bob-om tu [see <i>pup, calf</i>]
when	wilang	wilong tuw, willang m

where	wiya	wear tu, ey, wea rhm, wiiya m, winyar 'where, what' tuw, wea tuw
where from	winyang(u)	winyong das, win yar-gno tug
whine, to	karn-	kurning t2 [doom-bar-boon t3] [see <i>call</i>]
whip	dawa-elabil	dow-wa-ellabill t2 [t3]
whiskers	bong-i wurru	bong e wo ro etuk tuw [see <i>mouth</i>] ⁷⁶
whiskers	ngarriyn-ngarnda	nareen gan dan yook ey, nar-een-gan dan yook tu, ngarangandak m, ngarengurdunyu ri, ngaring-unduk t2, ngarle rhm, gnern der etuk tuw, gnern-der tuw [= hair of <i>chin</i> , see <i>ngarr hair</i> ; Warr ngarrayn , CV ngarriyn]
whistle	wurr-puyn	woor-poony t2 [woor-boony t3], worok boorning da [deering-ne-dular-nuke l Colac?]
white	darn-garriyn	darn-gar-en tu, darngarin rhm, tarn gareen r [Woi tarn-]
white	darn-garrabil	darn-garrabill t2 [darn-dartabill t3]
white	darrurring	daruring g
white	tarrarrapil	tararapil m
white	ta(r)n-garriyu	tarn-gar-e-u tuw [also glossed as <i>dry</i>]
who	wela	wela m, wela 'who' tuw (see §3.5)
whose	weka	weka tuw, we ka ge u tus, wekanyuk m [cf. 'why'; see §3.5]
why	kunte winya	wekarok m [gloss incorrect? See <i>whose</i>], konde weenyer das, konte winyar tus [see §3.5]
wide	melap-gurring	mellap-gooring t2 [mellap-goorden t3]
widow	pond[h]ak	pon-dak tuw [Tjap pundjak]
widower	lapmolong	lap mol ong tuw
wife		lubra g [word spread via English, probably Tasmanian]
wife	nganapun lanapun	nannapoon goo-ranook ey, nganapunyuk m, lannaboon t2 [t3] [see <i>husband</i>]
wife	gurrk	goork da [= 'female', probably a formative rather than a word, see <i>woman</i>]

⁷⁶ Tuckfield gives *bong-nyinuk-wurru* in Colac.

wild	talwol	tal-wol tuw [see <i>dog</i> , <i>native</i>]
wind	warradjak	wurra juck g
wind	winmaling	winmaling m
wind		bee-rin l [Colac word, probably same as pirriyn 'cold'] ⁷⁷
wind	munmut	moonmoot ey, da, mon mot r [see <i>cold</i>]
wind	maya	mia p [see <i>winter</i>] [Warlpiri maya.wunpa]
wing	tarra	durranyook t2 [t3] [see <i>arm</i>]
wink	milipi	milly-pee t2 [t3] [WB milpa mirr , CA mil 'eye']
winter	maya(nyu)	mai-oh t2 [t3], my an you r, maianyu rhm [see <i>wind</i>]
wipe, to	nayirrirma	nyirirmak t2 [t3] [see <i>chafe</i>]
wire	derrawarr	derrawur t2 [t3]
within	bakarriyu	bakaryoo t2 [= <i>middle</i>] [bug-gurr t3]
woman	ba-gurrk	bagurk rhm, m, bagoruk tuw, bagorook ey, bagorok tuw, bagorook tu, baiargook c, bagorook ey, bi goork r, baargoic b, bah-ai-gulk t2 [bad-goork t3], bagurkullaiak 'women' rhm, bajurgullak 'women' g, baargoric 'girl' b
woman		koimoit-bapanet p [see <i>one</i>]
woman, old	[ng]arra-gurrk	arragurk g [see <i>man</i> , <i>old</i>]
woman, old	mundi-gurrk	mudogoork c, mondegorok tuw, mondegorook ey, tu, mundy gorke r, mundy goork r, mundagurk m [CV]
woman, white	ngamadjiyt-gurrk	amerjigorok tuw, ng amatayt-kurk t2 [ngama-dye gurk t3] [see <i>man</i> , <i>white</i>]
woman, young	murdimundik	murde mundick g, morn dic r [see <i>girl</i>]
womb	galirrng	gullirrng t2 [t3]
wombat	ngurr-ngurr	norngnor mo, ngur-ngur rhm, gnur-gnur tuw, gnor gnor r, ouring.ore 'large species of wombat' b, ngurr-ngurr t2, ngorr-ngorr 'koala' t2 [baytyuk t3] [Dja ngurre-ngurre , Tjap ngurr-ngurr]

⁷⁷ Note that **munmot** is both 'cold' and 'wind', and also note that **maya** 'wind' is likely to be identifiable with **mayo**, **mayanyu** 'winter'.

wonderful		go-ho t2 [t3] [see <i>surprised</i>]
wood [firewood]	wiyn	wiin c, wing p [see <i>fire</i>]
wood	kalk	kalkalk m, cal cal r, galk galk 'log' t2 [t3] [widespread Vic]
wood, start fire	dhiel warrk	dealwark mo [Hercus records Woi djiel warg 'firesticks of the drill type'. <i>Itedycarya</i> <i>angustifolia</i> NS]
wool	ngarr-uk	ngarook t2 [t3] [= its hair]
woomera	marriwan	mur-e-won tuw, marriwan t, marry-wun t2 [t3], mariwan rhm, marriwan b, marriwan g, murreone c, woomerra d, marriwan mo
woomera	warr-warr	wara war r, war war r
word	nyayl	nyayl t2 [t3] [see <i>speak, voice</i>]
work, to	workim-barra	wur-cum-bara-nuke l ⁷⁸ [see <i>make</i>]
worm	bilitj	billity t2 [t3], beleet r, bilitch m [see <i>leech</i>]
wound, a	garrakin	garrakin t2 [t3] [also given as <i>scar</i>]
wrestling, two	badop-d[h]arri-	bar dop der e gnul tu [<i>throw down</i> + dharri/tjarri RECIP]
wring out, to	bolmo	bol-mo tu [also given as <i>bruise</i>]
wrist	turnayn	tar-na-etuk tuw, turnan rhm, tor nain gne tuck r [Dja]
wrong	nyulam	nyulam m [see <i>bad</i>]
yam daisy	murnang	murning 'edible root' t, mo, murnung 'edible root' b, murnong tuw [<i>Microseris scapigera</i> NS]
yamstick	kani	kanni rhm, kenne ri [Thag. kanayn , We gani 'club'; Wlp kana , WD wana] ⁷⁹
yes		aha l, ha ha b [possibly nga-nga]
yes	yi-yi	ye-ye ey, eh eh r, yiyi ri, ye ye m
yes	ngayi	ngiyi rhm [similar forms widespread]
yes		e-or-ge c

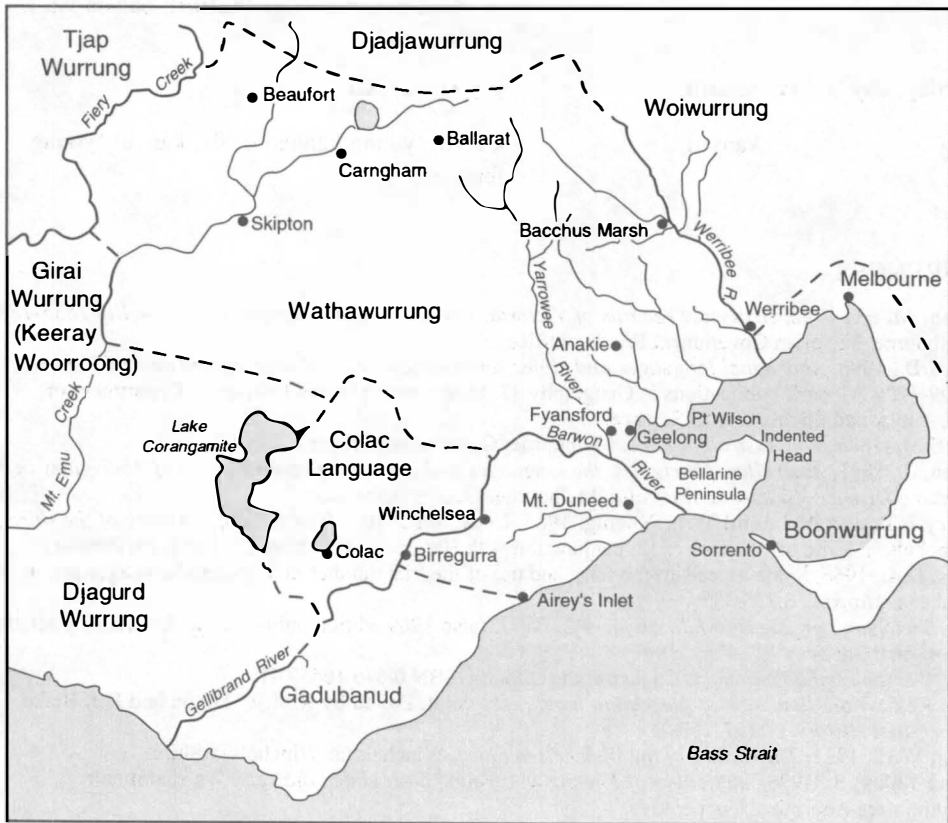
⁷⁸ This word is based on Pidgin **workim**. It is not certain whether the formation is confined to the Colac language; **-barra** also occurs in **bun-barra** 'kneel'.

⁷⁹ This word was given as 'waddy' by Thomas in t3.

yesterday	thaliyu, tjalinyu	tallio da, tallyo r, taleo c, talio b, taleyu ey, taliyo m, dyallinyu rhm [Dja thaliki]; calada-wa l [Colac word]
yesterday, day before	yi-talik	yey tallic r, da
young	kanyul	kanyul 'young kangaroo' da, kanyul 'young female' r

REFERENCES

- Cannon, M. ed., 1982, *Historical records of Victoria*, vol. 2A: *The Aborigines of Port Phillip 1835-1839*. Melbourne: Victorian Government Printing Office.
- Clark, I.D., 1990, *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of western and central Victoria, 1800-1900*. Monash Publications in Geography 37. Melbourne: Monash University Department of Geography and Environmental Science.
- Curr, E.M., 1886, *The Australian Race*. Melbourne: Government Printer.
- Dawson, J., 1881, *Australian Aborigines, the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia*. Melbourne: George Robertson.
- Gregory E.B. and M.L. and W.L. Koenig, 1985, *Coast to country: Winchelsea, a history of the shire*. Winchelsea: Shire of Winchelsea (in conjunction with Hargreen Publishing Co. North Melbourne).
- Hercus, L.A., 1966, Some aspects of the form and use of the trial number in Victorian languages and in Arabana. *Mankind* 6:335-337.
- 1986, *Victorian languages: a late survey*. PL, B-77. (also 1969 edition published by Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies).
- 1992, *Wembawemba dictionary*. Canberra: the author. [ISBN 0 646 10459 4].
- 1993, Review of *Handbook of Australian Languages* vol.4. Edited by R.M.W. Dixon and B.J. Blake. *Aboriginal History* 17:157-160.
- Koenig, W.L., 1933, *The history of the Winchelsea Shire*. Winchelsea: Winchelsea Shire.
- Krishna-Pillay, S., 1996, *Dictionary of Keerraywoorroong and related dialects*. Warrnambool: Gunditjmara Aboriginal Cooperative.
- Schmidt, W., 1919, *Die Gliederung der australischen Sprachen*. Vienna.
- Smyth, R.B., 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (2 volumes). Melbourne: Government Printer.



MAP 2: WATHAWURRUNG LANGUAGE AREA

THE COLAC LANGUAGE

BARRY J. BLAKE, IAN CLARK AND JULIE REID

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

Dawson's (1881:2) *Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria* contains the following statement:

At the annual great meetings of the associated tribes, where sometimes twenty tribes assembled, there were usually four languages spoken, so distinct from one another that the young people speaking one of them could not understand a word of the other three; and even the middle-aged people had difficulty in ascertaining what was said. There were Chaap wuurong, Kuurn kopan noot, Wiitya whuurong and Kolac gnat. The other tongues spoken at the meeting might be termed dialects of these four languages.

This statement would appear to be accurate from what we can glean from vocabularies collected in the nineteenth century. *Chaap wuurong* (Tjapwurrung) was spoken from Hamilton to Stawell and is a dialect of the language spoken over the whole of western Victoria from Hamilton north to Wentworth in New South Wales. *Kuurn Kopan Noot* is a dialect of the Warrnambool language and *Wiitja Whuurong* (**Watjawurrung** or **Wathawurrung**) is the language of the Geelong area (see Map 1). *Kolac gnat* is referred to by Dawson as the 'Colac language' and he says that the name means 'belonging to sand'. A form **kulak** 'sand' is found in the Pik Wurrung dialect of the Warrnambool Language, and **kurrak** 'sand' appears in Wathawurrung and some dialects of the Western Victorian language.

There are some dozens of sources that mention the Colac people. These are collected in Ian Clark's (1990) *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of western and central Victoria, 1800-1900*. Along with Dawson's *Kolac gnat*, there are other spellings such as *Kolakgnat* and *Kolaknat*. These suggest a form **Kolak-ngat** where **-ngat** is a suffix also recorded in the Warrnambool Language. There are also a number of spellings such as *Colijon*, *Koligian*, *Colijan*, *Kolijin* and *Koladgin*. These suggest a form **Gulidjan** (alternatively transcribed with an initial **k** and/or with **o** as the vowel of the first syllable). The vowel **a** tends to be pronounced as [æ] or [ɛ] following a palatal such as **dj** and this probably accounts for the spellings that suggest **i** in the final syllable. A third set of spellings such as *Caligun*, *Coligan*, *Koligan*, *Koligon*, etc. suggest a form **Koligan** or similar. All these names seem to cover the people rather than their language. We shall refer to the people as **Gulidjan** and their language as **the Colac language**.

Barry J. Blake, ed. *Wathawurrung and the Colac language of southern Victoria*, 155–177. *Pacific Linguistics*, C–147, 1998.

© Barry J. Blake, Ian Clark and Julie Reid

It appears that the Gulidjan were a small tribe inhabiting an area around Lake Colac. The extent and location of their territory is shown in map 3 which is reproduced from Clark (1990:233). On the basis of the early sources four clans can be distinguished:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Beeac clan | Lake Beeac |
| 2. Birregurra clan | Birregurra |
| 3. Garraldjan balug | Ingleby station on the Barwon River |
| 4. Gulidjan balug | Near Lake Colac |

1.2 GULIDJAN HISTORY

The Gulidjan people were organised into two matrilineal moieties: **gabadj** (black cockatoo) and **grugidj** (white cockatoo). They intermarried with the matrilineal Tjapwurrung and Djargurdwurrung peoples (see Map 3). Despite having a different descent system, they also intermarried with some of the clans of the patrilineal Wathawurrung.

The Gulidjan were blamed for the murders of J.T. Gellibrand and G. Hesse, who went missing in the upper Barwon River district in early 1837. In retribution several Gulidjan were killed near Lake Colac in 1837 by a settler party accompanied by some Wathawurrung. The squatters in the Colac district suffered many sheep losses in the period from 1837–39, and armed parties of settlers pursued the raiding parties; violent clashes followed and Gulidjan huts and implements were destroyed. From 1840 the Gulidjan became ‘friendlier’ and began to be employed on European stations.

In 1839 the Wesleyan Church established the Buntingdale Wesleyan Mission station, in Gulidjan country at what is now Birregurra. Under the leadership of the reverends Benjamin Hurst and Francis Tuckfield, the missionaries concentrated their efforts on the Gulidjan, Djargurdwurrung, and Wathawurrung peoples. They were also visited by some Tjapwurrung people.

Virtually from the mission’s inception, conflict arose between the Gulidjan and Wathawurrung, who were competing for the attention of the missionaries. The Gulidjan argued that as the mission station was situated within their boundary, they ought to be favoured; the Wathawurrung threatened to drive them off by force of arms. By 1841 Tuckfield was stating that the selection of the mission site and the amalgamation of the three groups had been an error. He feared that unless each ‘tribe’ retained their own tribal grounds their extinction would soon be deplored. He began to concentrate his efforts on the Gulidjan, living and travelling with them.

Buntingdale was abandoned in 1848 because of the small numbers of Gulidjan people frequenting the station and the encroachments of neighbouring settlers who erected houses and depastured stock on mission grounds. As a consequence, many Gulidjan took refuge with Alexander Dennis at Tardwarncourt station. The Gulidjan are believed to have numbered 43 males and 35 females in 1850.

In 1856 James Bonwick, the Inspector of Schools, travelled through Western Victoria, where he met a camp of Gulidjan people in the Warrion Hills. There he met John Co-coc-coine, the Gulidjan clan-head, and his family. Co-coc-coine snr wore a brass breastplate,

given to him by a local settler, on which was inscribed 'Co-coc-coine, King of the Warriors'. When Co-coc-coine snr died in 1865, his son, John Co-coc-coine jnr, discarded the breastplate.

In 1858 the Gulidjan numbered 19 people: 12 men, six women, and one six-year-old male child. The adults ranged in ages from 24 to 50. The men were generally employed by settlers and farmers, and the Gulidjan had received no assistance from the government after the abolition of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate in 1849.

With the formation of the Central Board 'to watch over the interests of the Aborigines' in 1860, the Geelong correspondents to the Board requested that a hut or 'shelter-shed' be erected for the use of the Gulidjan, who were in the habit of travelling to Geelong. In 1861 the Karngun Reserve of three acres of land on the Barwon River, immediately south of present-day Winchelsea, was set aside (see Map 2). Karngun was maintained until 1875.

In the early 1860s some Gulidjan were living in mia-mias in Colac, near the present site of the Colac hospital, and Dennis and five Colac settlers funded the erection of a brick house there. The Gulidjan, however, refused to live in the house, using it instead as a windbreak for their brushwood shelters. From 1862 William Dennis at Birregurra supplied the Gulidjan with provisions paid for by the Central Board. Alexander Dennis assumed this role in 1864. The Geelong Correspondents supplied the Gulidjan with clothing and rations when they visited Geelong.

In 1872, after the prompting of Alexander Dennis and the Colac Shire Council, the Victorian government reserved 40 acres of land at the Colac town common for the use of the Gulidjan. The reserve was known as Elliminyt, and the brick house, from near the hospital, was relocated there. From 1876, Richard Sharp, the son of Kitty Co-coc-coine, the spouse of John Co-coc-coine snr, lived on the Elliminyt Reserve with his non-Aboriginal wife, and had occupation of 20 acres. The remaining 20 acres were held for the use of the remaining Gulidjan until 1889, when they were let to Jim Crow, another Gulidjan man.

In 1912, six Gulidjan were residing at Elliminyt: the Sharp and Crow families. Elliminyt was relinquished in 1948. Descendants of the Crow family were still resident in Colac in 1966. For more information on the history of the Gulidjan see Clark (1990).

1.3 LANGUAGE RELATIONSHIPS

Map 1 shows the location of the Colac language in relation to the other languages of Victoria. A number of languages in central and western Victoria are relatively similar to one another and are classified as Kulin. In the classification in Blake and Reid (see this volume), which is based on Schmidt (1919), Hercus (1986) and unpublished work by Dixon, Kulin is split into four: Central Victoria (Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung and Thagangwurrung), Western Victoria (various dialects), Wathawurrung and Colac. The classification of Colac as Kulin is not unproblematical. It rests on a few grammatical forms (see below), the evidence from shared vocabulary being inconclusive.

The Gulidjan shared tribal boundaries with the Wathawurrung, mainly to the east, and various groups speaking dialects of what we are calling the Warrnambool language. The

following figures show the extent of vocabulary shared between the Colac language and other languages of Victoria. In the case of the adjacent Warrnambool language, a distinction is made between Dawson's *Kuurn Kopan Noot*, Dawson's *Peek-wurrung* and the more westerly *Wannon* dialects. In the case of the Western Victorian language, the *Tjapwurrung* dialect is shown, since it is the nearest; similarly with the Central Victorian language where *Woiwurrung* is chosen.

Bunganditj	(south-western Victoria)	20%
<i>Kuurn Kopan noot</i>	(Warrnambool Language)	26%
Pik wurrung	(Warrnambool Language)	20%
Wannon	(Warrnambool Language)	23%
Tjapwurrung	(Western Victorian Language)	31%
Wathawurrung		34%
Woiwurrung	(Central Victorian Language)	32%
Yota-Yota	northern Victoria	17%
Yabula-Yabula	northern Victoria	11%
Dhudhuroa	northern Victoria	19%
Pallanganmiddang	northern Victoria	20%
Gippsland		19%

Common vocabulary does not give a clear identification of the affiliation of the Colac language. As can be seen, it scores about 23% with dialects of the Warrnambool language to the west and 34% with Wathawurrung to the north and east. Significantly it does not score higher with closer dialects of the Warrnambool language, which suggests that borrowing is not a large factor. Similarly significant is the fact that it scores around the same figures with non-contiguous Kulin languages as it does with its Kulin neighbour, Wathawurrung: 31% with Tjapwurrung and 32% with Woiwurrung. Once again this suggests that borrowing is not a significant factor and that the percentages of shared vocabulary reflect the degree of genetic proximity.

There is practically no grammatical data available, but the following pronouns are recorded. The glosses have been 'corrected'; the original glosses are given at the end of the glossary.

	<i>nominative</i>	<i>genitive</i>
<i>I</i>	ngathuit	ngathangit
<i>we two</i>	ngathula	ngathangula
<i>1st person</i>	ngathangorrok	ngathangangorrok
<i>1st person [inc?]</i>	ngathunginak	-

The first formative in these pronouns, **nga-**, is no guide to genetic affinity, since it is practically ubiquitous within Australia. The second formative, which we have transcribed **-thu**, resembles the second formative in Bunganditj **ngathuk** and Warrnambool **ngathuk**, but it must be remembered that **-thu** is a widespread formative in first person singular pronouns, and since the Kulin languages have lost their free-form pronouns, it is impossible to say whether the matching with **-thu** is significant. However, it is interesting to note that Colac shares with the Warrnambool Language and Bunganditj a distinctive means of forming first person non-singular, namely by using **ngathu** as a stem. Once again it is

difficult to assess the significance of this as the Kulin languages have lost their free-form pronouns.¹

Apart from this, what evidence can be gleaned from pronoun forms suggests a connection with Kulin. The genitive of three pronoun forms is clearly formed with **-ang**, which matches **-ang-** in the Wimmera tongue, which is part of the Kulin group. The form **ngathangorrok** looks as if it contains **-angurr-**, the bound form for first person plural inclusive in Wemba-Beraba, also part of the Kulin group.

In Tuckfield's translation of the Lord's Prayer *nere-ngen* is 'thy name' (also in his Wathawurrung translation), so **-ngin** would appear to be the form for second person singular possessor, as in the Kulin languages.

Tuckfield records *malankaugnek* for 'my aunt'. This appears to be **malankau-ngek** or **malankaung-ek**, where **-ngek** or **-ek** is the form for first person possessor in the Kulin languages.

A number of body-part terms are recorded with the suffix **-gnek**, which we transcribe as **-nyinuk** (possibly **-nginuk**). This is obviously a third person possessor form and its appearance in word lists matches the distribution of **-u** in the Madhi group and in Woiewurrung, **-uk** in the other tongues of Western Victoria and **-atnin** in the Warrnambool language. A number of compound body-part terms also contain **nyinuk** as in **lirri nyinuk ma** 'fingernail' where **lirri** is 'nail' and **ma** 'hand'. This expression is probably literally 'nail-its hand'. The form **-nyinuk** is likely to consist of a third person root plus a genitive marker. The widespread third person singular root in Pama-Nyungan is **nyu-** or **nhu-**. Whether this suggested match of roots is correct or not, there seems to be a match between a genitive suffix **-uk** and the **-uk** of the Western language and Wathawurrung. This provides further evidence that the Colac language is Kulin.

However, though most of the evidence from grammatical forms suggests that Colac is a Kulin language, the vocabulary is not so obviously Kulin, and it suggests that the Colac language is a rather marginal member of the Kulin group. The vocabulary contains a large number of words recorded only in this language (e.g. **purterrong** 'child', **tharrong** 'man' and **part-part** 'moon'), plus a few words reflected in non-contiguous languages which must be relics, e.g. **birri** 'breast', which is found in north-eastern Victoria (Pallanganmiddang and Dhudhuroa) and New South Wales (Wiradhuri), **putjung** 'egg', which has likely cognates in northern Victoria (Yota-Yota), north-eastern Victoria (Pallanganmiddang) and eastern Victoria (the Gippsland Language), and **pun** 'knee', which is shared with Wathawurrung and the Gippsland Language. Most of the words that it shares with the Warrnambool language, the Western language, Wathawurrung and Woiewurrung are widespread items such as **mama** 'father'. Where Colac shares words that are not so widespread, it tends to share them with Wathawurrung. The most significant point about the vocabulary scores is the fact that Colac scores almost as well with non-contiguous Kulin tongues as it does with Wathawurrung. This tends to confirm the evidence from grammatical forms that Colac is Kulin.

¹ Cathrine Koukmenides pointed out this connection between Colac, Warrnambool and Bunganditj. Note that it hinges on the interpretation of the original notation. The evidence is given at the end of the glossary.

1.4 SOURCES

The linguistic sources for the Colac language are as follows:

Tuckfield, F., 1844, A specimen of the difference of dialects spoken by the native tribes of Port Phillip. *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers* 34:227.

This 'specimen' contains 19 words. It is reproduced in E. Eyre (1845) *Manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans*, volume II:399-402 and in R. Brough Smyth (1878) *The Aborigines of Victoria*, volume II:165-166. A larger selection of Tuckfield's data is contained in Cary (1898) (see next entry) and where the two Tuckfield lists overlap, alarming discrepancies can be observed that suggest misreadings of Tuckfield's handwriting in the Parliamentary Papers version.

Cary, J., 1898, Vocabularies of the Geelong and Colac tribes collected in 1840. *Report of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, Sydney*, pp.840-872 (reprinted 1899:1-33).

This paper contains material from Tuckfield (see preceding entry) consisting of a pronoun paradigm, a vocabulary of nearly 100 words and a partial translation of the Lord's Prayer marked *Kolijon* but with a question mark.

Dennis, William and Alexander, 1878, Colac. In R. Brough Smyth *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol.2:89.

A vocabulary of 48 words.

Lloyd, G.T., 1862, *Thirty three years in Tasmania and Victoria*. Melbourne.

This source contains a list of 70 words, some Wathawurrung some Colac. Lloyd writes (p.470): "Never, until very recently, having conceived the slightest intention of committing my recollections to paper, I cannot, therefore, remember more than a few words in the language of the Colac tribe of natives, possibly, however, there may be many words of the Barrabool tribe [Wathawurrung] in the following memorandum".

Robinson, G.A., Volume 65, part 2 of Robinson's papers contain lists of words in the *Coligan* language: pp.27-30, 31-43, 44-52.

2. PHONOLOGY

As noted above, there is not a great deal of overlap between the five sources, so we have few tokens for most items and consequently more than usual difficulty in working out the pronunciation.

2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

(a) Consonants

On the basis of what is known about other Australian languages we are assuming that the phoneme inventory was as in Table 1 below or with the dentals and laminals comprising a single series of phonemes. Although a dental laminal stop **th** occurred as in

thit-thit ‘bird’, we cannot be certain that it was phonemically different from the palatal laminal stop **tj**, as in **pinitja** ‘old’, so we write dentals or palatals according to the indications in our sources. In Victorian languages laminal stops at the end of a word seem to have been often unreleased and heard only as a **y**-glide transition from the preceding vowel to an apparent **t**. Robinson’s spellings *cone nor rite* and *cone ner rite* for ‘gum tree’ suggest a final syllable rhyming with words such as *tight*. There was probably a final laminal. We transcribe this word as **konerrayt** where **yt** represents a laminal stop.

There is evidence for a palatal nasal **ny**, and there may have been a dental nasal **nh**, but we do not expect to find direct evidence for a dental nasal, because nineteenth-century recorders could not tell it apart from the alveolar **n**. The word *nane* ‘back of neck’ has a cognate **nyani** in Wathawurrung and Wergaya, so it is probably **nhani**. We still cannot tell whether **nh** was phonemically distinct from **ny**.

The palatal nasal **ny** is written **yn** at the end of a word to avoid giving the appearance of an extra syllable. Thus Robinson’s *worroin* ‘tall’ is transcribed **warroyn** with **yn** for what we take to be a final palatal nasal.

We have assumed that there is no phonemic distinction between voiceless and voiced stops, but we have generally written **p** or **b**, etc. as in our sources. In syllable-final position and certainly in word-final position there are almost only voiceless tokens, which suggests that voice distinctions in stops, whether phonemic or not, must have been neutralised in this position.

There is evidence for **l**, but no evidence for a retroflex lateral (**rl**) or any form of laminal lateral (**lh** or **ly**).

There was probably a flapped or trilled rhotic (**rr**) and a glide (**r**), but these are not distinguished in the nineteenth-century sources, so all rhotics are written **rr**.

TABLE 1: CONSONANTS

	<i>labial</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>retroflex</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>
stop	p/b	th/dh	t/d	rt/rd	tj/dj	k/g
nasal	m	nh	n	rn	ny/yn	ng
lateral	-	(lh)	l	(rl)	(ly/yl)	-
rhotic	-	-	rr	r	-	-
semivowel	-	-	-	-	y	w

(b) Vowels

We cannot be certain whether the Colac language had a three-vowel system as is common among Australian languages or perhaps a six-vowel system as in Wemba-Wemba (Hercus 1986). We have retained **e** and **o** in our suggested phonemic forms, except where there is alternation between **i** and **e** or between **u** and **o**, where we have used **i** and **u** respectively. We have also used **i** in preference to **e** and **u** in preference to **o** where the comparative evidence suggested it. Thus Lloyd’s *woro* ‘mouth’ is transcribed as **wurru** since that appears to be its form in other languages.

There is evidence of long vowels, but it is not certain whether this was phonemic. Long vowels are written as double vowels.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

As noted above it is not certain whether **th** and **tj** were distinct phonemes and the same goes for **nh** and **ny**. There are no instances of **tj** in word-initial position, nor of **ny**. **Th** occurs in **thit-thit** 'bird'. **Nh** could not be distinguished from **n** by nineteenth-century observers, but *nane* 'back of neck' is probably **nhani**, given that the Wathawurrung word is **nyani**.

There are no words recorded with an initial rhotic, but there are half a dozen with an initial lateral.

There were probably no words with initial vowels. The word for 'white man' is recorded in three tokens with initial vowels (*amerdeit*, *umadeet* and *ummageet*), but we know from Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung tokens that this word had an initial **ng** and was pronounced **ngamadjiyt** or **ngamadhiyt**. It was common in the nineteenth century for an initial **ng** to remain undetected.

In word-final position the following consonants are attested:

p	lelap 'salt'
t	thit-thit
rt	part-part 'moon' (alternatively paat-paat)
tj/yt	ngamadjiyt 'white man'
k	pinmuk 'excrecence'
m	pirrm-pirrm 'breast'
n	murrun 'march fly'
rn	barn 'ankle'
ny	worroyn 'tall'
ng	tharrong 'man'
l	katyal-katyal 'rope'
rr	mirr 'eye'

(c) Consonant clusters

There are several examples in the sources of what appear to be initial clusters with *r* as the second element.

<i>brem-brem gnennok</i>	breast
<i>kraompweet</i>	brother
<i>priterong</i>	child
<i>mrinyeduc</i>	eye
<i>dree, tre, drae</i>	(lava) stone

The first can probably be dismissed since there is a common word **birri(ng)** for 'breast' in Victorian languages and this word is also recorded as *ber re*. Moreover, **birrm-birrm** is recorded in Woiwurrung, so it looks as if the recorder has metathesised (transposed) the

rhotic and the vowel. *Kraompweet* can also be dismissed, since it is also recorded as *koromboit*. *Priterong* is also recorded as *pooterong* and it may be that the **t** is retroflex and that this rhotic 'segment' has been metathesised with the vowel. 'Eye' is recorded as *mir* and *mer*, but **mirr** is the form in Western Victoria, and in Warnambool and Central Victoria it is **mirrng**. *Dreeltreldrae* is more problematical. It could be **dVrri** (where V = a vowel), or it could be that the initial stop was retroflex and sounded like **dr** to the observer.

It is difficult to make generalisations about intervocalic clusters. The range is great. Some of the marked clusters are probably across morpheme boundaries, but in the absence of a basis for analysing words morphologically it is impossible to be certain.

There were probably word-final clusters with a rhotic and a peripheral stop or nasal. Some of the following are recorded with a vowel between the rhotic and the final consonant, but comparative evidence suggests that there was perhaps no vowel.

rrm	birrm-birrm	breast
rrk	murrk	head
	kurrk	female (see entry for 'woman, white')
rrng	marrng	cloud

3. GRAMMATICAL FORMS

The following forms can be gleaned from the word lists:

-barri/-barra

This suffix marks an intransitive verb. It is found attached to the Pidgin form **workim** 'to work' in **workim-barra-nuk**. When an English word is adopted in an Aboriginal language as a verb it always requires a verb-forming derivational suffix, irrespective of whether it is a verb or not in English. The form **-barra** would appear to be the suffix that marks intransitive verbs. It may have been an inchoative form and it may have had other functions, such as reflexive. The suffix also appears in **ngonom-barra-nuk** 'to tell' (also **ngonom-barri-nuk**). If it is reflexive, its appearance here is not unexpected. In Wathawurrung, for instance, **ki (la)** is 'to tell' and **ki-tjarra-** 'to talk', 'to converse', where **-tjarra** is a reflexive-reciprocal.

-nuk

Numerous verb forms end in **-nuk**, including the forms quoted in the previous paragraph.

-an

The form for 'salt' is **lelap** and the form for 'salt water' **lelaban**. The alternation between [p] and [b] is not unexpected (see above). The comparison points to a suffix **-an**, possibly a 'having' suffix.

Pronominal forms are discussed in §1.3 above.

4. TEXT

The only text available is a partial translation of the *Our Father* by Tuckfield. Unfortunately there is so little overlap between the words in this text and the words in the lists that we have been unable to give a literal translation of the text from which we might have been able to glean extra words or grammatical information. The few words we can identify are given as glosses:

1. *Bort nuk mar mar kan-bon nad-don a now*
Father
wol look gne bort nuk ma-moit,
2. *Gnu-ra-nan-da nar-e gnen;*
hallowed? name-2SG.POSS
3. *Wad-ge-no to-wardo wad wad de*
come?
tar gmud dun yar-o-ni-ong now-won kan bon-o-ni-e;
earth?
4. *Komo nan nen ge rang a kar gnar-lar tar-ar-wart.*
give us? us? bread?? our? daily

5. GLOSSARY

The Lloyd list is a problem since it contains Wathawurrung words. Where Lloyd's word is not found in Wathawurrung, and there are usually multiple tokens available for each word in Wathawurrung, this is noted as 'not Wathawurrung'. For instance, *yoona-durrin-nuke* is not found in the Wathawurrung sources, so it is likely to be a genuine Colac word. Note that the phrase 'not Wathawurrung' is used only in reference to Lloyd entries.

English	Sources	Phonetic
air	parkoolook (d)	pakuluk
angry	yoona-durrin-nuke (l)	yundarrin ²
ankle	barn gnen nok (tu)	barn ³
arm	ken-en-gnen-ok (e)	kene ⁴
	ken e ken nok (tu)	
armpit	kar e gnen ok (tu)	karri ⁵
aunt, my	malankaugnek (tu)	malakau(ng) ⁶
awake	barrat-car-loon (l)	barratkalun
banksia	cal la (r)	kala

² Not a Wathawurrung word.

³ Compare **barn** in the Warrnamnool language and Wathawurrung.

⁴ Compare *foot*.

⁵ Both **karram** and **karrap** are found in Wathawurrung.

⁶ Wathawurrung **male korag**.

bark, to	yourn go ning (r)	yurn.goning
basket	neramite (r)	nerramayt
beard	bong-gnen-nok-wo-ro (tu)	bong-nginuk-wurru ⁷
	gnan-gnen nok (tu)	ngan ⁸
belly	woranyenuc (d)	warra ⁹
	war-an-gnen nok (tu)	
bird	thitthit (d)	thit-thit
bite, to	poonganing (r)	pun- ¹⁰
blood	korockyenuc (d)	kurrk ¹¹
boat	corong (l)	korrong ¹²
bone	yeerbingyenuc (d)	yiabing? yirrbing?
bowels	war o gnen uk (tu)	warro ¹³
breast	ber re gnen nok (tu)	birri ¹⁴
	brem-brem gnen nok (tu)	birrm-birrm ¹⁵
breastbone	kut kut gnen nok (tu)	kat-kat
bring	corange-lun-dun (l)	korrandj(i)-landan
broлга	kor-ork (tu), coroarc (r)	kurru(rr)k ¹⁶
brother	kraompweet (d) ¹⁷	kurrumpuwiyt
	derda (tu)	tirta ¹⁸
bro, younger	koromboit (tu)	korrompoyt ¹⁹
bucket	to gro (r)	tokrro
	car re go noke (r)	karrigonuk ²⁰
bullock	tarn ta quorong (r)	tarntakorrong
burn, to	mon coning (r)	monkoning

⁷ Tuckfield records **bong-i wurru** in Wathawurrung. **Wurru** means 'mouth' and is widespread in Victoria. The literal meaning is 'mouth its hair' i.e. 'hair of mouth'.

⁸ Compare Wergaya **nganyi**, Djapwurrung **nganye** and Thagungwurrung **nganyin**.

⁹ See also *bowels*. Recorded as 'bowels' by Tuckfield in Wathawurrung.

¹⁰ The form **punta** is widespread in Victorian languages.

¹¹ The form **kerrek** is found in the Warnambool language, **kurrk** in Western Victoria, Wathawurrung, Central Victoria and Gippsland, and **kurru** in Pallanganmiddang.

¹² Also found in Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung.

¹³ See *belly*.

¹⁴ **Birri** is found in Pallanganmiddang and Wiradhuri, **birriwa** in Dhudhuroa.

¹⁵ **Birrm-birrm** is found in Central Victoria.

¹⁶ Much the same form is found in other languages of Victoria and similar forms (without the final k) are scattered over eastern Australia.

¹⁷ This word is also given for 'younger brother' and 'son'.

¹⁸ Thagungwurrung **tati** 'elder brother'.

¹⁹ See also *brother* and *son*.

²⁰ Possibly based on English 'carry'.

by and by	ta la (r)	thala ²¹
directly	tala warlook (r)	thalawaluk
	tala narlook (r)	thalanaluk
immediately	tara-wa-luke (l)	tarrawaluk
presently	tarala (l)	tarrala ²²
calf	bor om gum bor um gum(tu)	borromgam-borromgam
cap	coburramoark (r)	kubarra-murrk ²³
catch	pud-car-nook (l) ²⁴	patka ²⁵
child	poot nong (r)	purterrong
	priterong (r)	
	pooterong (r)	
chin	tel-er-e-gnen nok gnen(tu)	telerrri
clouds	[bula da] mer ong (tu)	marrng ²⁶
	[balleet] na murrung(r)	
cold	peerin (l)	pirriyn ²⁷
come	yarreyan (l)	yarriyan ²⁸
come back	odinyarra (r)	(ng)utinyarra ²⁹
covering	carra-nuke (l)	karranuk ³⁰
creek	yaloke (l)	yaluk ³¹
crow	kaiwaicrook (d)	kawakurrk
	cowagoork (r)	
crown of head	bul mor ak gnen nok (tu)	pul-murrk ³²
daughter	woorncut (d)	wurnkat ³³
day	wooremolleen (d)	wurrimolliyn
daylight	kardinea (l)	ka(r)dinia ³⁴

²¹ The dental **th** is on the basis of likely identification with forms such as Djadjawurrung **thaliki** 'yesterday', Wathawurrung **thaliyu**, etc.

²² Compare *today*.

²³ The two entries for 'cap' may contain **kabarra** 'head' which was used in nineteenth-century Pidgin (and still in Northern Australia). It comes from Dharuk, the Sydney language. Compare also Wathawurrung **kuparr-murrk** 'cap'. The second element in this word is **murrk** 'head'.

²⁴ Not Wathawurrung.

²⁵ Compare **pitka** 'kill' and **patka** 'sit'.

²⁶ The first word in this entry is similar to forms for 'big' in languages to the east. **Marrng** 'cloud' is also found in Djapwurrung and Djadjawurrung. See also 'sky'.

²⁷ See *wind*. Also found in the Warrnambool language, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria where it occurs with the meanings 'wind' and 'winter' or 'cold weather'. The final palatal is on the basis of the form in Wathawurrung.

²⁸ Not Wathawurrung.

²⁹ Compare Pitta-Pitta (Queensland) **ngutha** 'to return'.

³⁰ Not Wathawurrung

³¹ This word is found in both Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung.

³² **Murrk** is 'head'.

³³ **Warngat** in Thagungwurrung, **wurrngak** in Wathawurrung.

³⁴ Not Wathawurrung.

dead	dedac (l)?	didak ³⁵
die	put-murri-nook (l)	patmarri
dog	gnarn-do (tu)	ngandu
	quon dook (r) ?	kwanduk
drink, to	wolli-gar-nuke (l)	ngoliga- ³⁶
	nolig garnook (r)	
black duck	berewong (r)	pirr(i)wang
[duck] teal	caledwong (r)	kaletwang
duck	pear-wong (tu)	pirrwang
	toolom (l)	tulum ³⁷
eagle	orlimerick (d)	ngolimerrik
ear	wer e gnen nok (tu)	wirri ³⁸
	weinyeduc (d)	
eat	cogalla (l)	kudjala ³⁹
	loo dun nut (r)	luda-
	woot carnook (r)	wutka-
eel	yoke (r)	yuk ⁴⁰
egg	poetchon (d)	putjung ⁴¹
	poa-jong (l)	
elbow	bol on-gnen ok (tu)	bolon
emu	por-i-mul (e), porin-mul (tu)	
	porrimel (r)	parri(n)mal ⁴²
	barang-mal (l)	
enemy	bungilcarney (l)	bandjilkani ⁴³
enough	borac-wah (l)	borrakwa ⁴⁴
excrescence	pin mook (r)	pinmuk [see <i>murrk</i> 'head']
eye	mrinyeduc (d)	mirr ⁴⁵
	mir gnen nok (tu)	
	murt art neen (r)	
	merg-nen-ok (e)	
eyeball	boid-gnen nok mer ne (tu)	buyt nyinuk mirr ne ⁴⁶
eyebrow	twang gnen nok mer ne (tu)	tuwang nyinuk mirr ne

³⁵ Wathawurrung *tirta*.

³⁶ Not Wathawurrung.

³⁷ *Dulum* 'black duck' is widespread in Victoria.

³⁸ Widespread in Victoria.

³⁹ Wathawurrung.

⁴⁰ Woiwurrung.

⁴¹ Compare *putjanga* in Yota-Yota, *boya* in Pallanganmiddang and *buyang* in Gippsland.

⁴² Similar forms in Djadjawurrung, Warmambool and Central Victoria.

⁴³ Given by Tuckfield as 'devil' in Bible.

⁴⁴ Compare Wathawurrung *borrak* 'no, not', a word that was borrowed into Pidgin and Australian English.

⁴⁵ Common Victorian.

⁴⁶ Probably 'belly of the eye'. *Buyt/butj* 'belly, stomach' is found in Djadjawurrung and Central Victoria.

eyelash	tar-at gnen nok mer ne (tu) ⁴⁷	t(h)arrat(h) nyinuk mirr ne
eyelid	word gnen nok mer ne (tu) ⁴⁸	wart nyinuk mirr ne
face	mer e wan- gnen nok (tu)	mirriwan ⁴⁹
far	mywun (l)	maiwan ⁵⁰
father	maahma (d), ma-ma (tu)	mama ⁵¹
feel, to	mongamook (r)	mong(g)a- ⁵²
few days	keana eric (r)	kiyana-irrik
fight, to	mool murranoock (r)	mulmarra-
fine day	win malin (r)	win-malin
finger	lerinyinuc (d)	lirri
finger, fore	to-bet-karong (tu)	tobet-karrong
finger, middle	dort mem ne (tu)	dort-mim-ni
finger, third	pot-ket-dok (tu)	pot-ketuk
fingernail	ler ek gnen nok ma (tu)	lirri nginuk ma ⁵³
fire	wean (e), weeing (d)	wiyn, wiing ⁵⁴
flatulence	kon nine yoke (r)	konanyuk ⁵⁵
fly, march	morrone (r)	murrun ⁵⁶
foot	ken-ong-gnen-ok (e)	kinang ⁵⁷
	kenaeyenuc(d)	
	ken ong gnen nok (tu)	
foot, back of	word gne ken ong(tu)	wart-ngi-kinang ⁵⁸
forehead	gner-on-gnen-ok (e)	nyerrang
	gnereng nok(tu)	
frightened	mine gar nook (r)	mayn.ga- ⁵⁹
give, to	congalong (r)	kong- ⁶⁰
give me	goangannon (l)	

⁴⁷ Dentals inserted on the basis of the Wathawurrung form *tharratj-i mirr*.

⁴⁸ Similar expressions with *wart* occur in Wathawurrung and Warmambool. It may mean 'skin of the eye'; *wata* 'skin' has been recorded in Yota-Yota and Pallanganmiddang. See also 'foot, back of'.

⁴⁹ Wathawurrung *mirr-beng* 'eye-body' for 'face'.

⁵⁰ Wathawurrung *maiwan* 'long time'.

⁵¹ Found also in Western Victoria and Central Victoria.

⁵² Wathawurrung *mong(k)a* 'to make'.

⁵³ Literally 'nail its hand'; compare *lerri* 'fingernail' in Wemba-Wemba and *lirri* in Wergaia. Also *larra breth* (= ? hand) Gippsland.

⁵⁴ Similar forms common in Western and Central Victoria, and in New South Wales.

⁵⁵ This appears to be the widespread *kuna* 'faeces' plus a 3rd person possessor form.

⁵⁶ Also in Wathawurrung and the *Dhauhurtwurru* dialect of the Warmambool language.

⁵⁷ The common Australian root is *THina*, but *kininuk* 'his/her foot' is found in a list from Western Victoria in Thomas' papers (21:53), and *kina*, along with the widespread *tjina/thina* is found in Tjapwurrung.

⁵⁸ See footnote on *eyelid*.

⁵⁹ Suspiciously like Robinson's entry for 'forehead' in Wathawurrung where *mayn* is 'forehead'.

⁶⁰ Central Victoria *kunga* 'give', 'take'.

go, walk	niera (r)	yarruna
	yarruna (r)	yanya-
go away	yan-yar-nuke (l)	yan.ga-
	yan-gan-note (l)	
go on	ap ber re art neen (r) ⁶¹	na.arrimal-
good	na-arremaluke (l) ⁶²	
goose	du ger noke (r)	nodigong
green parrot	nor-de-gong (tu)	wat-wat ⁶³
ground	wat wat (r)	thaa ⁶⁴
	tha (d)	
	ta (e) (tu)	murra ⁶⁵
	moora (d)	pani djerrang ⁶⁶
gum leaf	panigerong (l)	tulirrup
hail	tuleroop (r)	kan murrk ⁶⁷
hair	kaenmorackenuc (d)	
	kan-mor-ak-gnen nok (tu)	
hand	macnyinuc (d)	ma
	ma gnen nok (tu)	
hand up (noun)	cart bud un (r)	katba-
head	mor-rok-grun-ok (e)	murrk ⁶⁸
	mor rok gnen nok (tu)	
	moranyenuc(d)	
hear	wahart-car-nuke (l)	waatka-?, wangatka? ⁶⁹
	nat kerry (r)	nat-kerri
heel	war an gnen nok (tu)	warra(n)
here	na woin (r)	nawoyn
hill	parrup, par rap (r)	parrap
him	nad the buc (r)	nathipak
horse	carn com a lel (r)	kaan-komalel
hot	weeri-muklin (l)	wirri-maklin ⁷⁰
house	manget (r)	mang(g)it
howl, to	carl errinong (r)	karl errinong ⁷¹
hut	dwardnook (r)	tuwa(r)t

⁶¹ Given as 'be off'.

⁶² Not Wathawurrung.

⁶³ Robinson gives *wark wite* for the *Tjarcote* dialect of the Warrnambool language.

⁶⁴ Western Victoria, Wathawurrung *tjaa*.

⁶⁵ **Merring** in the Warrnambool language.

⁶⁶ Wathawurrung **djerrang** 'leaf'.

⁶⁷ **Murrk** is 'head'.

⁶⁸ Also found in Wathawurrung.

⁶⁹ Not Wathawurrung. **Wanga** is the Bunganditj and Warrnambool word for 'hear'.

⁷⁰ Not Wathawurrung.

⁷¹ **Kaal** is 'dog' in Bunganditj, Warrnambool and Western Victoria.

I	nad thoit (r)	ngathuwit
jump, to	yularanook (r)	yularra ⁷²
	u larth e nun nook (r)	yulathi
kangaroo	ko-ra (e), korak (d)	korra ⁷³
	kora (tu)	
	corra (l), corac (r)	
kill	peet-car-nook (l)	pitka- ⁷⁴
	pedaranook (r)	pitarra
knee	pon gnen nok (tu)	pun ⁷⁵
knife	lugid-eded (l)	lugit-itit ⁷⁶
	toke did it (r)	tuk-didit
koala 'sloth'	wring gel (tu) ⁷⁷	w[a]rringgel
lake	yarram, yare ram (r)	yarram
large	dedabul (l)	dirdabil ⁷⁸
	warmara (r)	wamarra
	bula da (tu), poolootnoo (d)	bulut
	balleet (r), beleet (d)	baliyt ⁷⁹
laugh	yi yar ra nook (r)	yiyarra-
	yeryarranook (r)	
lava stone	dree (r)	[see 'stone']
leg	dar-e-gnen-ok (e)	d(h)arra ⁸⁰
	kar a gnen nok (tu)	karra ⁸¹
lie, to	coy alat (r)	kuyalat
lie down	calara nuke (l)	kalarra
lightning	paledmamoke (r)	paled-mamuk ⁸²
lightwood [tree]	la ang, leen (r), laan (d)	laang, liin
lips	wor-ung-gnen-ok (e), (tu)	wurru(ng) ⁸³
little	anaki (l)	[ng]an[h]aki ⁸⁴
long time	kingalook (r)	kingaluk

⁷² Central Victoria *yuli*- 'jump'.

⁷³ Bunganditj, Warrnambool Western Victoria and Wathawurrung.

⁷⁴ Wathawurrung *pita*-.

⁷⁵ Also in Wathawurrung and Gippsland.

⁷⁶ Compare Wathawurrung *lurrka* 'to cut', *lurrkayt* 'cross-cut saw'. Thomas records the latter in the *Melbourne* language as 'cross-cut saw' and 'knife'.

⁷⁷ Tuckfield gives this same form for the *Dantgurt* dialect of the Warrnambool language.

⁷⁸ The regular Wathawurrung word. The transcription with the retroflex is based on Wathawurrung.

⁷⁹ These *b*- and *p*-initial entries have been taken from other entries, namely *lightning*, *cloud*, *sky* and *star*, *large*. Wathawurrung *balert* 'strong'.

⁸⁰ Widespread *dharra* 'thigh'.

⁸¹ See *thigh*.

⁸² The first element is probably *paliyt* 'big'.

⁸³ Widespread in Victoria; see also *mouth*.

⁸⁴ Wathawurrung *nganyaki*.

long way	wareitanong (r)	warriyt-anong ⁸⁵
	wareetanong (r)	
magpie	kor-or-o (tu), cororo (r)	korrorro ⁸⁶
Magellanic clouds	kor ror rac (r)	korrorrak ⁸⁷
man ⁸⁸	mondel (d)	mondel
	tharong (tu)	tharrong
	turrung (r)	
man, white	amerdeit (tu)	ngamadhiyt ⁸⁹
	umadeet (r)	
	ummageet (l)	
Milky Way	al lang me (r)	ngalang-mi
moon	bard-bard (e)	ba(r)d-ba(r)d
	paartput (d)	
	bard-bard (tu)	
	part part (r)	
mopoke	kaelwarra (d)	kaalwarra
mother	paahpa (d)	
	ba-ba (tu)	papa ⁹⁰
mouth	woronyeduc (d)	wurru ⁹¹
murnong [yam daisy]	carr (r)	ka(rr) ⁹²
name	nere	nerre ⁹³
navel	tol (tu)	tol
	uk gnen nok (tu)	ngak?
neck	kon-gnen-nok (tu)	kon ⁹⁴
neck, back of	nan e gnen nok (tu)	n(h)ani ⁹⁵
night	pooroonna (d)	purruna ⁹⁶
	boorana (l)	
night, last	calada (l)	kalada ⁹⁷
noon	narlanga-tarawart (l)	nalanga-tarrawa(r)t ⁹⁸

⁸⁵ Robinson gives **warriyt** in Wathawurrung.

⁸⁶ Similar forms in other languages of western Victoria.

⁸⁷ Warmambool **kurron**.

⁸⁸ See also *old man*.

⁸⁹ Similar forms occur in the Warmambool language, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria.

⁹⁰ Widespread in Victoria.

⁹¹ See also *lips*.

⁹² **kirrang** Pikwurrung.

⁹³ This entry is taken from Tuckfield's translation of the Lord's Prayer. Tuckfield gives the same term in Wathawurrung.

⁹⁴ **Kurn** 'neck/throat' is common in Western Victoria, Central Victoria and Wathawurrung.

⁹⁵ **Nyani** 'neck/nape' is found in Western Victoria and Wathawurrung.

⁹⁶ Similar forms in Western Victoria, Warmambool and Central Victoria. See *dark* in comparative table.

⁹⁷ See *yesterday*.

⁹⁸ **Tarrawart** is probably 'day', since it appears in the 'daily bread' verse of the Our Father.

nose	kong-gnen-ok (e)	kang ⁹⁹
	konk gnen nok(tu)	
nose, bridge	gnul a gnen nok kong(tu)	ngala-nginuk-kang ¹⁰⁰
nose, cartilage	bod-gnen nok o kong (tu)	bu(y)t-nginuk-o-kang ¹⁰¹
nostril	gnarn-gne-gnen o kong (tu)	ngan-ngi-nginuk-o-kang
old	[see next two entries]	pinitja
old man	pene jan derung (r)	pinitjan-derrang ¹⁰²
old woman	peneja noat ne wat (r)	pinitja-notniwat ¹⁰³
oyster	barrabool (l)	barrabil ¹⁰⁴
pelican	mur-won-gel(tu)	
plenty	boorde-nuke (l)	bord-
	boro nook	
	bord noke	
	bordnook (r)	
plover	tulep (r)	tulep
possum	pong-o (e)	pungu
	pongo (tu)	
	pungo (r)	
quail	kewerrim (r)	kiwerrim
	kerri wit(r)	kerriwit
quick	ugo (l) ¹⁰⁵	
rain	mur rong (tu)	marrng ¹⁰⁶
	murrong (l)	
	murrung (r)	
raise up	mearnook (l)	mia- ¹⁰⁷
ribs	ko re gne de gnen nok (tu)	korrinyidi
river	praah (d), bra, brar (r)	barra
rope	cajal cajan (r)	katyal=katyal ¹⁰⁸
rug	paloin (r)	paloy ¹⁰⁹

⁹⁹ Karr Western Victoria; kang Wathawurrung, Central Victoria.

¹⁰⁰ Tuckfield gives ngala kang in Wathawurrung.

¹⁰¹ Tuckfield gives bud-i kang in Wathawurrung, and he also gives butji kang 'belly of nose' for 'nostril'.

¹⁰² See tharrong 'man'.

¹⁰³ See nudnuwet 'woman'.

¹⁰⁴ Ba(r)nibil Wathawurrung.

¹⁰⁵ English you go?

¹⁰⁶ Also given as 'cloud'; similar forms meaning 'cloud' are found in Western Victoria.

¹⁰⁷ Sole entry in Wathawurrung.

¹⁰⁸ Kutjul-kutjul in the Pikwurrung dialect of the Warmambool language.

¹⁰⁹ Also Warmambool 'large possum-skin rug'.

run	balaga-larnuka (l) bal ler cul er nook (r) molog a na molog e na (r)	balagala- ¹¹⁰ mologana
salt	lellap (r)	lelap
salt water	lellaban (r)	lelaban
sand	kol-lad-kol-lad (tu)	kolat-kolat, kolak-kolak ¹¹¹
sea	lamat (d) maree (l)	lamat marri ¹¹²
see	ne-jular-nook (l) necarnook (r)	nidyula- nika-
she-oak	nun gurra (r)	nan.garra
sheep	bulgana (r)	bulgana ¹¹³
shin	yel ar gnen nok kar a (tu)	yela-nyinuk-karra ¹¹⁴
short	moort (r)	murt ¹¹⁵
shoulder	bak korn gnen nok (tu)	bakurn ¹¹⁶
sister	permborret (d) banget (tu)	permborret ¹¹⁷ banget
sister, eldest	dattonget (tu)	datonget ¹¹⁸
sit	pat-gar-nook (l)	patga- ¹¹⁹
sky	poolootnoomarang (d)	pulutnu-marrng ¹²⁰
sleep	calarga-nuke (l)	kalaga- ¹²¹
small	werangite (r)	werrangayt
snake	kaanlang (d)	kanlang
snow	dede were, bede were (r)	didi/bidi-werri
sole	bul gne ken ong (tu)	bul-ngi kinang ¹²²
son	kraompweet (d)	kurrumpuwiyt ¹²³

¹¹⁰ Not Wathawurrung.

¹¹¹ 'Sand' in the Pikwurrung dialect of the Warmambool language is *kulak* and, as noted in §1, Tuckfield gives *colac-ngat* as the name of the language meaning 'belonging to sand'. The final -d looks like a mistake. Hercus records *kurrek* in Wemba-Wemba and the same form is found in Wathawurrung.

¹¹² Not Wathawurrung, where the word is *warri*. Possibly a transcription error.

¹¹³ Widespread term for cows and sheep.

¹¹⁴ *Karra*, probably 'thigh', is given as 'leg'; see 'thigh joint'.

¹¹⁵ Also found in Bunganditj, Djadjawurrung, Tjapwurrung and Wathawurrung.

¹¹⁶ Robinson gives *pakkuran* in the Kurn Kupanut dialect of the Warmambool language.

¹¹⁷ Wathawurrung *barrabarra* 'younger sister'.

¹¹⁸ Similar form in Wathawurrung.

¹¹⁹ Not Wathawurrung. Compare *patka* 'to catch'.

¹²⁰ 'Marrng' is 'sky/cloud' in Western Victoria. The first element probably means 'large'.

¹²¹ Not Wathawurrung.

¹²² *Kinang* = 'foot'. The Wathawurrung is *tung-i djinang* 'stomach of foot'; compare Western Victoria *bili/buli* 'stomach'.

¹²³ See *brother*.

split timber	lelere (r)	lelerri ¹²⁴
squirrel	nan-kel (tu)	nankel
star	kar-art-kar-art (e)	karrat-karrat
stars	kar-at-kar-at (tu)	
	nalimane (r)	n(g)alimayn
star, large	orlebeleet (d)	(ng)alem baliyt ¹²⁵
star, small	karrankaran (d)	karran-karran
steal, to	win malat (r)	winmalat
stick	kooroorook (d)	kurrurruk
stone	tre (e), drae (d)	tre
	tre (tu)	
stop	tarrecamuke (l)	tharrika- ¹²⁶
sun	na (e), naah (d), na (tu)	n(h)aa ¹²⁷
	na (l)nare (r)	
sunrise	yon-warra-gang (l)	yon-warra-gang
	ulunberry (r)	yulunberri
sunset	poinaree (l), ponere (r)	punyarri
sunshine	werk werk, wert wert (r)	werrk-werrk, wert-wert
talk	lame ber nat (r)	lamba-
	nonan burra nook (r)	ngonanbarra- ¹²⁸
tall	woroin (r)	warroyn
tea-tree	worar worar (r)	warra-warra
teeth	meerinyeduc (d)	mirri
tell	onum-burri-nuke (l)	ngonom-barri- ¹²⁹
	ngonomona (r)	ngonomona
there	nad thura (r)	nathurra
thigh	kar e-gnen nok (tu)	karri ¹³⁰
thigh joint	yel-ar-e gnen nok mul	
	-long (tu)	yelarri-nyinuk mulung ¹³¹
think, I	no im (r)?	no-im
thumb	tal-a-don (tu)	thaladon
thunder	toot berrinong (r)	tut berrinong
	munder (r)	mandarr ¹³²
today	nalliangdurrawort (r)	naliang tarrawart ¹³³

¹²⁴ Compare *finger nail*.

¹²⁵ 'Beleet' = 'large'?

¹²⁶ Probably cognate with Wergaya *djarriga* 'to stand' and similar forms in others Western Victorian tongues.

¹²⁷ *Nyawi/nhawi* occurs in Western Victoria.

¹²⁸ Compare *tell*.

¹²⁹ See *talk*.

¹³⁰ *Karrip* Western Victoria, Warrnambool; see *leg*.

¹³¹ See *shin*; Tuckfield gives *nyil-i mulong* in Wathawurrung.

¹³² Given as *rain*, but likely to be 'thunder' on the basis of its occurrence in other languages.

tomahawk	part part coat (r)	part-part-kot ¹³⁴
tomorrow	perripungy (r)	perripandyi
tongue	talanyeduc (d)	t(h)ala ¹³⁵
too much	carte-doon-garnook (l)	kartidun.ganuk
tree	coorlong (d)	kurlong
turkey	wred-gel (tu)	worritkil
	wor it kil (r)	
two	pul ler dook (r)	puladuk ¹³⁶
two and two	bul-ad-duk-bul-ad-duk (e)	puladuk-puladuk
uncle, my	ka-gnet (tu)	kangit
understand, don't	bung-al-la-lee (l)	bangalali ¹³⁷
urine	kere re nook (r)	kirri- ¹³⁸
water	kan (e), kan (tu), can (r)	kan
water, fresh	mur rinu can (r)	marrinu kan
waterfall	pun ner jer er luc (r)	panadyarralak
where	won dalong (r)	wan-d(h)along ¹³⁹
whistle	deering-ne-dular-nuke (l)	dirring-nidula ¹⁴⁰
wind	pearing (d), beerin (l)	pirriyn ¹⁴¹
woman	nodnoat (tu)	nudnuwet
	noodnuwett (d)	
	lubra (d) ¹⁴²	
	noat ne wat (r)	nutni-wat
woman, white	amerdeitgoruk (tu)	ngamadhiyt-kurrk ¹⁴³
wood	kalerack (d)	kalerrak ¹⁴⁴
work, to	an kar nook (r)	ngan.ka-
	wur-cum-bara-nuke (l)?	workim-barra ¹⁴⁵
wrist	mar o mar o gnen nok (tu)	marro-marro
yes	aha (l) ?	ngaa ¹⁴⁶

¹³³ **Tarrawart** occurs in the 'daily bread' verse on the *Our Father*; see §4.

¹³⁴ Bunganditj and Warmambool/Wannon **part-part-kurt**. See *moon*.

¹³⁵ **THalayn** is widespread.

¹³⁶ **Pula** is widespread.

¹³⁷ Wathawurrung **bang(gel)** 'ignorant'.

¹³⁸ Warmambool **kirrng**, Western Victoria **kirri**.

¹³⁹ **Wintha** is widespread in Victoria; **wantha** occurs in Dhudhuroa, **wuntha** in the *Kurn Kopan Noot* dialect of the Warmambool language.

¹⁴⁰ Not Wathawurrung; similar form in the Warmambool language.

¹⁴¹ See *cold*.

¹⁴² The word **lubra** is a word of probable Tasmanian origin which came into general use in English.

¹⁴³ See **ngamadhiyt** 'white man'. **Ngamadhiyt** occurs in Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung; **kurrk** marks nouns referring to females in Wathawurrung.

¹⁴⁴ The widespread Victorian word for 'wood' is **kalk**.

¹⁴⁵ Pidgin **work-im** plus **-barra**.

¹⁴⁶ This could be the word **ngaa**, which is found in many Australian languages, or it could be English 'aha'.

yesterday	calada-wa (l), calada (r)	kalada-wa ¹⁴⁷
you	nad thun (r)	See pronouns below
young man	caler un derung (r)	kalarranderrang ¹⁴⁸
young woman	won gobinum (r)	won.gobinam

Pronouns

The glosses for these pronoun forms are corrected in §1.3.

Tuckfield's list

English	Tuckfield	Phonemic
I, mine	<i>gnud-do-it</i>	ngathu(w)it
we two	<i>gnud-dol-a</i>	ngathula
of us two	<i>gnud-dong-ul-a</i>	ngathangula
we three	<i>gnud do gnen nuk</i>	ngathunginak
we, of us	<i>gnud do gnen nuk</i>	ngathunginak
thou	<i>gnud-do-it</i>	ngathu(w)it
of thee	<i>gnud-dong-it</i>	ngathangit
you two	<i>gnud-dong-gno-rok</i>	ngathangorrok
of you two	<i>gnud dong ong gno rok</i>	ngathangangorrok

Other forms

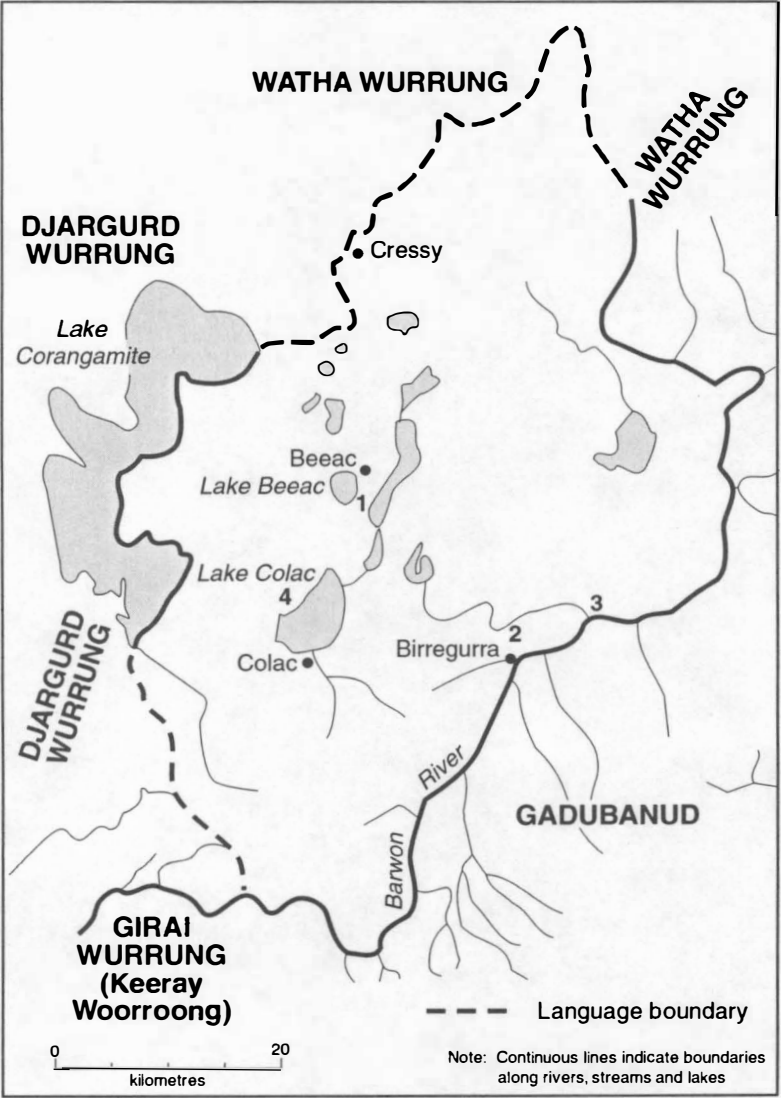
I	<i>nad thoit</i> (r)	ngathu(w)it
you	<i>nad thun</i> (r)	ngathan
him	<i>nad the buc</i> (r)	nathipak

REFERENCES

- Clark, I.D., 1990, *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of western and central Victoria, 1800-1900*. Monash Publications in Geography 37. Melbourne: Monash University Department of Geography and Environmental Science.
- Dawson, J., 1881, *Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia*. Melbourne: George Robertson.
- Hercus, L.A., 1986, *Victorian languages: a late survey*. PL, B-77 (also 1969 edition published by Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies).
- Schmidt, W., 1919, *Die Gliederung der australischen Sprachen*. Vienna.
- Smyth, R.B., 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (2 volumes). Melbourne: Government Printer.

¹⁴⁷ See *night*, *last*.

¹⁴⁸ Compare forms for *man*.



MAP 3: GULIDJIAN LANGUAGE AREA



Figure 1. Map of Victoria, Australia.